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**An Egyptian
Royal Book of Protection of the Late Period
(P. Brooklyn 47.218.49)**

by

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A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment

of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Middle Eastern Studies

New York University

May, 2002


Professor Ogden Goelet

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DEDICATION

For Barbara, who made this and so much more in my life possible.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

In general, abbreviations are based on those used in W. Helck and E. Otto, eds., <i>Lexikon der Ägyptologie</i> . 7 vols. (Wiesbaden 1975-1989)	
<i>ADAIK</i>	<i>Archäologische Veröffentlichungen. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut</i> (Cairo)
<i>Admonitions</i>	A.H. Gardiner, <i>The Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage</i> (Hildesheim 1969)
<i>ÄA</i>	<i>Ägyptologische Abhandlungen</i> (Wiesbaden)
<i>ÄAT</i>	<i>Ägypten und Alte Testament</i> (Wiesbaden)
<i>AH</i>	<i>Aegyptiaca Helvetica</i> (Geneva)
<i>Aegyptus</i>	<i>Aegyptus. Rivista italiana di egittologia e di papirologia</i> (Milan)
<i>AEMT</i>	J. Borghouts, <i>Ancient Egyptian Magical Texts. Nisbada</i> , Vol. 9 (Leiden 1978)
<i>AEO</i>	A.H. Gardiner, <i>Ancient Egyptian Onomastica I-II</i> (London 1947)
<i>Akh</i>	F. Friedman, "On the Meaning of <i>Akh</i> (Ἄχ) in Egyptian Mortuary Texts" (Brandeis Univ. diss. 1981)
<i>AF</i>	<i>Altorientalische Forschungen</i>
<i>AL</i>	D. Meeks, <i>Année lexicographique</i> I-III (Paris 1980-1982)
<i>Amduat</i>	E. Hornung, <i>Das Amduat. Die Schrift des vorborghen Kammers</i> I (Text)-II (Übersetzung und Kommentar) (Wiesbaden 1963)

<i>Amunhymnus</i>	J. Zandee, <i>Der Amunhymnus des Papyrus Leiden I 344</i>
	<i>Verso I-III. Collections of the National Museum of Antiquities at Leiden 7</i> (Leiden 1992)
<i>Analecta Biblica</i>	<i>Studia Biblica et Orientalia</i> (Rome)
<i>Anchnesneferibre</i>	C.E. Sander-Hansen, <i>Die religiösen Texte auf dem Sarg des Anchnesneferibre</i> (Copenhagen 1937)
<i>AO</i>	<i>Analecta Orientalia</i> (Rome)
<i>APAW</i>	<i>Abhandlungen der Preussischer Akademie der Wissenschaften</i> (Berlin)
<i>Arzneimittelpflanzen</i>	R. Germer, <i>Untersuchungen über Arzneimittelpflanzen im Alten Ägypten</i> (Hamburg 1979)
<i>Atum</i>	K. Mysliwiec, <i>Studien zum Gott Atum I-II. HÄB 5 and 8</i> (Hildesheim 1978-79)
<i>Ba Concept</i>	L. Zabkar, <i>A Study of the Ba Concept in Ancient Egyptian Texts.</i> <i>SAOC</i> 34 (Chicago 1968)
<i>Barns</i>	J. Barns, <i>Five Ramesseum Papyri</i> (Oxford 1956)
<i>BD</i>	T.G. Allen, <i>The Book of the Dead or Going Forth by Day. SAOC</i> 37 (Chicago 1974)
<i>BdE</i>	<i>Bibliothèque d'Étude</i> (Cairo)
<i>BdEC</i>	<i>Bibliothèque d'Études coptes</i> (Cairo)
<i>BIE</i>	<i>Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte</i> (Cairo)
<i>BIFAO</i>	<i>Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale</i> (Cairo)

<i>Bildzauber</i>	P. Eschweiler, <i>Bildzauber im alten Ägypten</i> . OBO 137 (Freibourg 1994)
<i>BMA</i>	<i>Brooklyn Museum Annual</i> (Brooklyn)
<i>Book of Caverns</i>	A. Piankoff, <i>Le livre des Quererts</i> (Cairo 1946)
<i>BSAK</i>	<i>Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur. Beihefte</i> (Hamburg)
<i>BSEG</i>	<i>Bulletin de la société d'égyptologie</i> (Geneva)
<i>BSFE</i>	<i>Bulletin de la société française d'égyptologie</i> (Paris)
<i>Budge</i>	E.A. Wallis Budge, <i>The Book of the Dead. An English Translation of the Chapters, Hymns, etc., of the Theban Recension, with Introduction, Notes, etc.</i> (London 1909)
<i>CD</i>	R.O. Faulkner, <i>A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian</i> (Oxford 1962)
<i>CdE</i>	<i>Chronique d'Égypte</i> (Brussels)
<i>Cérémonial</i>	J.-C. Goyon, "Le cérémonial de glorification d'Osiris du papyrus Louvre I 3079 (colonnes 110 à 112)," <i>BIFAO</i> 65 (1965) 89-156
<i>CG</i>	<i>Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire</i> (Cairo)
<i>CLEM</i>	R. Caminos, <i>Late Egyptian Miscellanies. Brown Egyptological Studies</i> 1 (Oxford 1954)
<i>Coeur</i>	A. Piankoff, <i>Le "Coeur" dans les textes égyptiens depuis l'Ancien jusqu'à la fin du Nouvel Empire</i> (Paris 1930)

<i>Coptos</i>	C. Traunecker, <i>Coptos. Hommes et dieux sur la parvis de Geb.</i> <i>OLA 43</i> (Leuven 1992)
<i>Cosmogonie</i>	S. Bickel, <i>La cosmogonie égyptienne. OBO 134</i> (Freibourg 1994)
<i>CT</i>	R. Faulkner, <i>Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts I-III</i> (Warminster 1973-1978) (spells cited by spell number and <i>OIP</i> number)
<i>Curses and Blessings</i>	K. Nordh, <i>Aspects of Ancient Egyptian Curses and Blessings.</i> <i>Conceptual Background and Transmission</i> (Uppsala 1996)
<i>Daily Life</i>	D. Meeks and C. Favard-Meeks, <i>Daily Life of the Egyptian Gods</i> (Ithaca 1996)
<i>DAWW</i>	<i>Denkschriften der kaiserlicher Akademie des Wissenschaften in</i> <i>Wien, philos.-hist. Kl.</i>
<i>Death</i>	J. Zandee, <i>Death as an Enemy According to Ancient Egyptian</i> <i>Conceptions. Studies in the History of Religions V</i> (Leiden 1960)
<i>Dendara</i>	E. Chassinet and F. Daumas, <i>Le Temple de Dendara I-IX</i> (Cairo 1934-1987)
<i>Dents</i>	T. Bardinet, <i>Dents et mâchoires dans les représentations</i> <i>religieuses et la pratique médicale de l'Égypte ancienne.</i> <i>Studia Pohl. Series Maior 15</i> (Rome 1990)
<i>Der Gott</i>	H. Junker, <i>Der sehende und blinde Gott. SBAW 7</i> (Munich 1942)
<i>DG</i>	H. Gauthier, <i>Dictionnaire géographique I-VII</i> (Cairo 1925-1932)

<i>DIE</i>	<i>Discussions in Egyptology</i> (Oxford)
<i>Les Dieux-Gardiens</i>	J.-C. Goyon, <i>Les dieux-gardiens et la genèse des temples. BdE</i> 93 (Cairo 1985)
<i>Djed-Hor</i>	E. Jelinková-Reymond, <i>Les inscriptions de la statue guérisseuse de Djed-her-le saveur. BdE</i> 23 (Cairo 1956)
<i>DLE</i>	L. Lesko, <i>A Dictionary of Late Egyptian</i> I-V (Berkeley 1982-90)
<i>Edfu</i>	E. Chassinet and Le Marquis de Rochemonteix, <i>Le temple d'Edfou I-XIV. Mission archéologique française au Caire. Mémoires</i> 10-11; 20-31 (Cairo 1897-1985)
<i>EG³</i>	A.H. Gardiner, <i>Egyptian Grammar</i> , 3rd ed. rev. (London 1957)
<i>Elkab I</i>	P. Derchain, <i>Elkab I: Les monuments religieux à l'entrée de l'Ouady Hellel</i> (Brussels 1971)
<i>Enchoria</i>	<i>Enchoria. Zeitschrift für Demotistik und Koptologie</i> (Wiesbaden)
<i>EPHE</i>	<i>École pratiques des hautes études</i> (Paris)
<i>Esna</i>	S. Sauneron, <i>Esna I-VIII</i> (Cairo 1959-82)
<i>EU</i>	<i>Egyptologische Uitgaven</i> (Leiden)
<i>Flora</i>	R. Germer, <i>Flora des pharaonischen Ägypten</i> (Mainz am Rhein 1985)
<i>Fragen</i>	<i>Fragen an die altägyptische Literatur. Studien zum Gedenken an Eberhard Otto</i> (Wiesbaden 1977)
<i>Funerary Papyri</i>	A. Niwinski, <i>Studies on the Illustrated Theban Funerary Papyri of the 11th and 10th Centuries B.C.</i> OBO 86 (Fribourg 1989)

<i>Genies</i>	D. Meeks, <i>Génies, anges et démons en Égypte.</i> SO 8 (Paris 1971)
	17-84
<i>Genesis</i>	J.P. Allen, <i>Genesis in Egypt: The Philosophy of Ancient Egyptian Creation Accounts.</i> YES 2 (New Haven 1988)
<i>Glasgow</i>	A.G. McDowell, <i>Hieratic Ostraca in the Hunterian Museum Glasgow</i> (Oxford 1993)
<i>GLEM</i>	A.H. Gardiner, <i>Late-Egyptian Miscellanies. Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca</i> 7 (Brussels 1937)
<i>GM</i>	<i>Göttinger Miszellen</i> (Göttingen)
<i>HÄB</i>	<i>Hildesheimer ägyptologische Beiträge</i> (Hildesheim)
<i>HÄK</i>	J. von Beckerath, <i>Handbuch der ägyptischen Königsnamen. MÄS</i> 20 (Munich 1984)
<i>HÄT</i>	U. Rössler-Köhler and H.-J. Thissen, eds., <i>Handschriften des Altägyptischen Totenbuches</i> (Wiesbaden)
<i>Hathor Quadrifons</i>	P. Derchain, <i>Hathor Quadrifons. Recherches sur la syntaxe d'un mythe égyptien</i> (Istanbul 1972)
<i>Herbal</i>	L. Manniche, <i>An Ancient Egyptian Herbal</i> (Austin 1989)
<i>HO</i>	A.H. Gardiner and J. Cerny, <i>Hieratic Ostraca</i> I (Oxford 1957)
<i>HP</i>	G. Möller, <i>Hieratische Paläographie</i> I-III (Leipzig 1909-1912)
<i>HPBM</i>	<i>Facsimiles of Egyptian Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum</i> (London)
<i>Hymne du Nil</i>	D. Van der Plas, <i>L'hymne à la crue du Nil. EU IV</i> (Leiden 1986)

<i>JARCE</i>	<i>Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt</i> (Cairo)
<i>JEA</i>	<i>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology</i> (London)
<i>Jenseitsgericht</i>	R. Grieshammer, <i>Der Jenseitsgericht in den Sargtexten.</i> <i>ÄA</i> 20 (Wiesbaden 1970)
<i>JEOL</i>	<i>Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptische Genootschap</i> (Gezelschap) "Ex Oriente Lux" (Leiden)
<i>JNES</i>	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i> (Chicago)
<i>JSSEA</i>	<i>Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities</i> (Toronto)
<i>KÄT</i>	<i>Kleine ägyptologische Texte</i> (Wiesbaden)
<i>Kêmi</i>	<i>Kêmi. Revue de philologie et d'archéologie égyptiennes et coptes</i> (Paris)
<i>King-lists</i>	D.B. Redford, <i>Pharaonic King-lists, Annals and Day Books: a Contribution to the Study of the Egyptian Sense of History</i> (Mississauga 1986)
<i>KRI</i>	K. Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions I-VIII</i> (Oxford 1969-1990)
<i>LÄ</i>	W. Helck, E. Otto, and W. Westendorff, eds., <i>Lexikon der Ägyptologie.</i> 7 vols. (Wiesbaden 1975-1989)
<i>Lake Edifice</i>	R.A. Parker, J. Leclant, and J.-C. Goyon, <i>The Edifice of Taharqa by the Sacred Lake of Karnak. Brown Egyptological Studies</i> 8 (Providence 1979)

<i>LEG</i>	J. Černý and S.I. Groll, <i>A Late Egyptian Grammar</i> , 3 rd updated edition. <i>Studia Pohl. Series Maior</i> 4 (Rome 1984)
<i>Leinwand</i>	in G. Möller, <i>Hieratische Paläographie</i> III (Leipzig 1912)
<i>Ling. Aeg.</i>	<i>Lingua Aegyptia. Journal of Egyptian Language Studies</i> (Göttingen)
<i>Litany of Re</i>	A. Piankoff, <i>The Litany of Re. Bollingen Series XL. Egyptian Religious Texts and Representations</i> 4 (New York 1964)
<i>Livre de la Nuit</i>	G. Roulin, <i>Le livre de la nuit. OBO</i> 147/1-2 (Freibourg 1996)
<i>LJ</i>	A. Piankoff, <i>Le livre du jour et de la nuit (Livre du jour only)</i> (Cairo 1942)
<i>LN</i>	A. Piankoff, <i>Le livre du jour et de la nuit (Livre du nuit only)</i> (Cairo 1942)
<i>MÄS</i>	<i>Münchner Ägyptologische Studien</i> (Munich)
<i>MAFC</i>	<i>Mission archéologique française au Caire. Mémoires</i> (Cairo)
<i>Manetho</i>	W.G. Waddell. <i>Manetho. Loeb Classical Library No 350</i> (Cambridge 1980)
<i>MDAIK</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. Abteilung Kairo</i> (Berlin, Wiesbaden and Mainz am Rhein)
<i>Mechanics</i>	R. Ritner, <i>The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice. SAOC</i> 54 (Chicago 1992)
<i>Mélanges Dussaud</i>	<i>Mélanges syriens offerts à M. Réne Dussaud</i> (Paris 1939)

Mélanges Michalowski Mélanges offerts à Kazimierz Michalowski (Warsaw 1966)

Merikare W. Helck, *Die Lehre für König Merikare. KÄT* (Wiesbaden 1977)

Metternich Stela C.E. Sander-Hansen, *Die Texte der Metternich Stele. Analecta*

Aegyptiaca VIII (Copenhagen 1956)

MIFAO *Mémoires publiées par les membres de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire* (Cairo)

MIO *Mitteilungen des Institut für Orientforschung* (Berlin)

MRE *Monographies Reine Elisabeth* (Brussels)

MuK A. Erman, *Zaubersprüche für Mutter und Kind aus dem Papyrus 3027 des Berliner Museums. APAW* (Berlin 1901)

n. note

Neuäg. Gramm. A. Erman, *Neuägyptische Grammatik. Zweite, völlig umgestaltete Auflage* (Leipzig 1933)

Neuägyptischen F. Junge, *Einführung in die Grammatik des Neuägyptischen* (Wiesbaden 1996)

Neunheit W. Barta, *Untersuchungen zum Götterkreis der Neunheit. MÄS 28* (Munich and Berlin 1973)

o ostracon

oGlasgow A.G. MacDowell, *Hieratic Ostraca in the Hunterian Museum Glasgow* (Oxford 1993)

oNash J.F. Borghouts, "The Ram as Protector and Prophesier," *RdE* 32 (1980) 33-4

<i>OIP</i>	<i>Oriental Institute Publications. The University of Chicago</i>
	(Chicago)
<i>OLA</i>	<i>Orientalia Lovaniensa Analecta</i> (Louvain)
<i>OLP</i>	<i>Orientalia Lovaniensa Periodica</i> (Louvain)
<i>OMRO</i>	<i>Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden</i> (Leiden)
<i>Onurislegende</i>	H.Junker, <i>Die Onurislegende. DAWW</i> 59 (Wien 1917)
<i>Oracle Papyrus</i>	R. Parker, <i>A Saite Oracle Papyrus from Thebes in The Brooklyn Museum [Papyrus Brooklyn 47.218.3].</i> <i>Brown Egyptological Studies</i> 4 (Providence 1962)
<i>Oracular Decrees</i>	I.E.S. Edwards, <i>Oracular Amuletic Decrees of the Late New Kingdom</i> , 2 Vols. <i>HPBM</i> , 4 th Ser. (London 1960)
<i>Orientalia</i>	<i>Orientalia: Commentarii periodici Pontificii instituti bibliici</i> (Rome)
<i>Osorkon Chronicle</i>	R. Caminos, <i>The Chronicle of Prince Osorkon. AO</i> 37 (Rome 1958)
<i>p</i>	papyrus
<i>pAnastasi 2</i>	A. H. Gardiner, <i>Late-Egyptian Miscellanies. Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca</i> 7 (Brussels 1937)
<i>pBoulaq 6</i>	Y. Koenig, <i>Le papyrus Boulaq 6: Transcription, traduction et commentaire. BdE</i> 87 (Cairo 1981)

- pBremner Rhind* R. Faulkner, *The Bremner Rhind Papyrus. Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca* 3 (B.M. 10188) (Brussels 1933)
- pBM 10059* W. Wreszinski, *Die Medizin der alten Ägypter* 2 (Leipzig 1912) =
pmed London
- pBM 10081* S. Schott, "Drei Sprüche gegen Feinde," *ZÄS* 65 (1930) 35-42
- pBM 10209* F.M.H. Haikal, *Two Funerary Papyri of Nesmin I-II. Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca* 14-15 (Brussels 1970-72)
- pBM 10288* R. Caminos, "Another Hieratic Manuscript from the Library of Pwerem Son of Kiki (Pap. B.M. 10288)," *JEA* 58 (1972) 205-224
- pBM 10683* = *pChester Beatty III*
- pBrooklyn 47.218.2* unpublished
- pBrooklyn 47.218.48+85* S. Sauneron, *Un traité égyptien d'ophiologie. Bibliothèque générale* 11 (Cairo 1989) = *Traité*
- pBrooklyn 47.218.50* J.-C. Goyon, *Confirmation du pouvoir royal au nouvel an [Brooklyn Museum Papyrus 47.218.50]. BdE* 52 (Cairo 1972) and *Wilbour Monographs* 7 (Brooklyn 1974) =
pConfirmation
- pBrooklyn 47.218.84* unpublished
- pBrooklyn 47.218.87* unpublished
- pBrooklyn 47.218.135* R. Jasnow, *A Late Period Wisdom Text (P. Brooklyn 47.218.135). SAOC* 52 (Chicago 1992) = *pBrooklyn Wisdom*

- pBrooklyn 47.218.156*S. Sauneron, *Le papyrus magique illustrée Brooklyn [Brooklyn Museum 47.218.156]*. *Wilbour Monographs* 3 (Brooklyn 1970) = *pllustré*
- pBrooklyn Wisdom* R. Jasnow, *A Late Period Wisdom Text (P. Brooklyn 47.218.135)*.
SAOC 52 (Chicago 1992)
- pBudapest 51.1961* L. Kákosy, "Ein magischer Papyrus des Kunsthistorischen Museums in Budapest," *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 19: 3-4 (1979) 159-177
- pCairo 58027* W. Golenischeff, *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire N°s 58001-58036. Papyrus hiératiques* (Cairo 1927)
- pCairo 86637* A. Bakir, *The Cairo Calendar No. 86637* (Cairo 1937)
- pCarlsberg Nr VIII* H. von Deines and H. Grapow, *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Drogennamen. Grundriss der Medizin der alten Ägypter* V (Berlin 1959)
- pChester Beatty I* A.H. Gardiner, *The Library of A. Chester Beatty. Description of a Hieratic Papyrus with a Mythological Story, Love Songs, and other Miscellaneous Texts. The Chester Beatty Papyri, No. 1* (London 1931)
- pChester Beatty II-XIX* A.H. Gardiner, *The Chester Beatty Gift*, 2 Vols. *HPBM* 3rd Series (London 1935)

<i>pConfirmation</i>	J.-C. Goyon, <i>Confirmation du pouvoir royal au nouvel an</i> [<i>Brooklyn Museum Papyrus 47.218.50</i>]. <i>BdE</i> 52 (Cairo 1972) and <i>Wilbour Monographs</i> 7 (Brooklyn 1974)
<i>pDeM 36</i>	S. Sauneron, "Le rhume d'Anyakhté," <i>Kêmi</i> 20 (1970) 7-18
<i>pDeM 37</i>	D. Meeks, "Un revenant inconvenant? (<i>Papyrus Deir el-Medineh</i> 37)," <i>BIFAO</i> 79 (1979) 103-119
<i>pDeM 40</i>	Y. Koenig, "Les effrois de Keniherkhepeshef (<i>Papyrus Deir el</i> <i>Médineh</i> 40)," <i>RdE</i> 33 (1981) 29-37
<i>pEbers</i>	W. Wreszinski, <i>Die Medizin der alten Ägypter</i> 3. <i>Der Papyrus</i> <i>Ebers</i> (Leipzig 1913)
<i>pEdwin Smith</i>	J.H. Breasted, <i>The Edwin Smith Surgical Papyrus</i> . <i>OIP</i> IV (Chicago 1930)
<i>pGeneva MAH 15274</i>	A. Massart, "The Egyptian Geneva Papyrus MAH 15274," <i>MDAIK</i> 15 (1957) 172-185
<i>pHearst</i>	W. Wreszinski, <i>Die Medizin der alten Ägypter</i> 2. <i>Der Papyrus</i> <i>Hearst</i> (Leipzig 1912)
<i>pIllustré</i>	S. Sauneron, <i>Le papyrus magique illustrée Brooklyn</i> [<i>Brooklyn Museum 47.218.156</i>]. <i>Wilbour Monographs</i> 3 (Brooklyn 1970)
<i>pJumilhac</i>	J. Vandier, <i>Le papyrus Jumilhac</i> (Paris 1962)
<i>pKölner</i>	D. Kurth, H.-J. Thissen, and M. Weber, <i>Kölner ägyptische Papyri</i> (<i>p. Köln. ägypt.</i>) (Wiesbaden 1980)

- pLeiden I 343+345* A. Massart, *The Leiden Magical Papyri I 343 + I 345. OMRO 34*
 (Supplement) (Leiden 1954)
- pLeiden I 344* J. Zandee, *Der Amunhymnus des Papyrus Leiden I 344*
Verso I-III. Collections of the National Museum of Antiquities at Leiden 7 (Leiden 1992) = *Amunhymnus*
- pLeiden I 346* B. Stricker, "Spreuken tot Beveiliging gedurende de Schrikeldagen naar Pap. I 346," *OMRO 29* (1948) 55-70
- pLeiden I 347* A. Massy, *Le Papyrus de Leide I 347* (Paris 1885)
- pLeiden I 348* J. Borghouts, *The Magical Texts of Papyrus Leiden I 348. OMRO 51* (Leiden 1971)
- pLeiden I 349* A. de Buck and B. Stricker, "Teksten tegen Schorpioenen naar Pap. I 349," *OMRO 21* (1940) 53-62
- pLeiden I 350* J. Zandee, *De Hymnen aan Amun van Papyrus Leiden I 350. OMRO 28* (Leiden 1947)
- pLouvre I 3079* J.-C. Goyon, "Le cérémonial de glorification d'Osiris du papyrus Louvre I 3079 (colonnes 110 à 112)," *BIFAO 65* (1965) 89-156
- pLouvre 3176* P. Barguet, *Le papyrus N. 3176(S) du Musée du Louvre. BdE 37* (Cairo 1962)
- pLouvre E3229* J.H. Johnson, "Louvre E3229: A Demotic Magical text," *Enchoria 7* (1977) 55-102

<i>pLouvre</i> 3233	J.-C. Goyon, "Un phylactère tardif: le papyrus 3233 A et B du Musée du Louvre," <i>BIFAO</i> 77 (1977) 45-54
<i>pLouvre</i> 3279	J.-C. Goyon, <i>Le papyrus du Louvre N. 3279. BdÉ</i> 42 (Cairo 1966)
<i>pLouvre E</i> 3661	E. Ledrain, "Le papyrus de Luynes," <i>RT</i> 1 (1870) 89-95 = <i>pLuynes</i>
<i>pLuynes</i>	E. Ledrain, "Le papyrus de Luynes," <i>RT</i> 1 (1870) 89-95 = <i>pLouvre E</i> 3661
<i>pmagHarris</i>	H. Lange, <i>Der magische Papyrus Harris</i> (Copenhagen 1927)
<i>pmedBerlin</i>	W. Wreszinski, <i>Die Medizin der alten Ägypter</i> 1. <i>Der grosse Papyrus medizinischen des Berlins Museums</i> (Leipzig 1909)
<i>pmedLondon</i>	W. Wreszinski, <i>Die Medizin der alten Ägypter</i> 2 (Leipzig 1912)
<i>pRamesseum</i>	A.H. Gardiner, <i>The Ramesseum Papyri</i> (Oxford 1955)
<i>pRylands</i>	F.L. Griffith, <i>Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri in the John Rylands Library, Manchester with facsimiles and complete translations</i> (Manchester and London 1909)
<i>pSallier II</i>	W. Helck, <i>Der Text des 'Nilhymnus'. KÄT</i> (Wiesbaden 1972)
<i>pSalt 825</i>	P. Derchain, <i>Le papyrus Salt 825 (B.M. 10051), rituel pour la conservation de la vie en Égypte</i> (Brussels 1965)
<i>pTurin</i>	W. Pleyte and F. Rossi, <i>Papyrus de Turin</i> (Leiden 1869-1876) (cited by plate and line number)

<i>pTurin</i> 1983	I.E.S. Edwards, <i>Oracular Amuletic Decrees of the Late New Kingdom</i> , 2 Vols. <i>HPBM</i> 4 th Ser. (London 1960)
<i>pTurin</i> 1993	W. Pleyte and F. Rossi, <i>Papyrus de Turin</i> (Leiden 1869-1876)
<i>pTurin</i> 54003	A. Roccati, <i>Papiro Ieratico N. 54003. Estratti magici e rituali del Primo Medio Regno. Catalogo del Museo egizio di Torino. Seria prima, Monumenti e testi</i> 2 (Turin 1970)
<i>pVandier</i>	G. Posener, <i>Le Papyrus Vandier. Bibliothèque générale</i> 7 (Cairo 1985)
<i>pVatican</i>	P. Suys, "Le papyrus magique du Vatican," <i>Orientalia</i> 3 (1934) 63-87
<i>Paper and Books</i>	J. Cerny, <i>Paper and Books in Ancient Egypt</i> (London 1952)
<i>Peas.</i>	F. Vogelsang, <i>Kommentar zu den Klagen des Bauern. UGAÄ</i> 6 (Leipzig 1913)
<i>PGM</i>	H. Betz, ed., <i>The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation</i> (Chicago 1986) (cited by page number)
<i>Piankhi Stele</i>	N.-C. Grimal, <i>La stèle triomphale de Pi(ankh)y au Musée du Caire. MIFAO</i> 105 (Cairo 1981)
<i>PSBA</i>	<i>Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology</i> (London)
<i>Ptolemaic Lexicon</i>	P. Wilson, <i>A Ptolemaic Lexicon. OLA</i> 78 (Louvain 1997)
<i>PT</i>	R. Faulkner, <i>Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts</i> (Warminster 1969) (spells cited by spell number)
<i>Ramesseum Papyri</i>	J. Barns, <i>Five Ramesseum Papyri</i> (Oxford 1956)

<i>RdE</i>	<i>Revue d'égyptologie</i> (Cairo, Paris, and Louvain)
<i>Religion and Society</i>	A.B. Lloyd, ed., <i>Studies in Pharaonic Religion and Society</i> , (London 1992)
<i>Religion und Philosophie</i>	U. Verhoeven et al, <i>Religion und Philosophie im alten Ägypten</i> (Leuven 1991)
<i>rt.</i>	<i>recto</i>
<i>RT</i>	<i>Recueil des travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes</i> (Paris)
<i>SA</i>	<i>Studia Aegyptiaca</i> (Budapest)
<i>SAK</i>	<i>Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur</i> (Hamburg)
<i>SAOC</i>	<i>Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization</i> (Chicago)
<i>SASEA</i>	<i>Supplements aux Annales du Service du Antiquités de l'Égypte (Cairo)</i>
<i>SBAW</i>	<i>Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischer Akademie des Wissenschaften (Munich)</i>
<i>Les scarabées</i>	M. Malaise, <i>Les scarabées de cœur dans l'Egypte ancienne. MRE</i> 4 (Brussels 1978)
<i>Sekhmet</i>	P. Germond, <i>Sekhmet et la protection de la monde. AH 9</i> (Geneva 1981)
<i>Seth</i>	H. te Velde, <i>Seth, God of Confusion. Probleme der Ägyptologie</i> 6 (Leiden 1977)

<i>Sign-list</i>	"List of Hieroglyphic Signs," in A.H. Gardiner, <i>Egyptian Grammar</i> , 3 rd ed. rev. (London 1957) 438-548
<i>SO</i>	<i>Sources orientales</i> (Paris)
<i>SocBehague</i>	A. Klassens, <i>A Magical Statue Base (Socle Behague) in the Museum of Antiquities at Leiden.</i> OMRO 33 (1952)
<i>Solar Religion</i>	J. Assmann, <i>Egyptian Solar Religion in the New Kingdom</i> (London 1995)
<i>Studien Westendorf</i>	<i>Studien zu Sprache und Religion Ägyptens. Zu Ehren von Wolfhart Westendorf überreicht von seinen Freunde and Schülern I-II</i> (Göttingen 1984)
<i>Studies</i>	B. Gunn, <i>Studies in Egyptian Syntax</i> (Paris 1924)
<i>Stylistique</i>	F. Labrique, <i>Stylistique et théologie à Edsou.</i> OLA 51 (Louvain 1992)
<i>Tagewählerei</i>	C. Leitz, <i>Tagewählerei. Das Buch ḥȝt nḥḥ pḥ.wy ḫt und verwandte Texte I-II.</i> AA 55 (Wiesbaden 1994)
<i>Tebtunis</i>	W.J. Tait, <i>Papyri from Tebtunis in Egyptian and in Greek</i> (London 1977)
<i>Traité</i>	S. Sauneron, <i>Un traité égyptien d'ophiologie. Bibliothèque générale</i> 11 (Cairo 1989)
<i>UGAA</i>	<i>Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ägyptens</i> (Leipzig)
<i>Urk.</i>	<i>Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums</i> (Berlin)

<i>Urk. VI</i>	S. Schott, <i>Urkunden mythologischen Inhalts. Erstes Heft. Bücher und Sprüche gegen den Gott Seth</i> (Leipzig 1929)
vo.	verso
<i>Wörterbuch</i>	A. Erman and H. Grapow, eds. <i>Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache</i> . 7 vols. (Berlin and Leipzig, 1st ed.: 1926-1931, 2nd ed.: 1957)
<i>Wb.</i>	A. Erman and H. Grapow, eds. <i>Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache</i> . 7 vols. (Berlin and Leipzig, 1st ed.: 1926-1931, 2nd ed.: 1957)
<i>WbDN</i>	H. von Deines, H. Grapow, and W. Westendorf, <i>Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Drogennamen. Grundriss der Medizin der alten Ägypter</i> 6 (Berlin 1959)
<i>WbMT</i>	H. von Deines and W. Westendorf, <i>Wörterbuch der medizinischen Texte. Grundriss der Medizin der alten Ägypter</i> 7/1-2 (Berlin 1961)
<i>Wilbour Monographs</i> <i>Wilbour Monographs</i> (Brooklyn)	
YES	<i>Yale Egyptological Series</i> (New Haven)
ZÄS	<i>Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde</i> (Leipzig and Berlin)

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INTRODUCTION

The subject of my thesis is the compilation of texts of *pBrooklyn 47.218.49*, currently in the collection of the Department of Egyptian, Classical, and Ancient Middle Eastern Art in the Brooklyn Museum of Art. I became aware of the existence of this papyrus in my first year as Curatorial Trainee in Brooklyn in the spring of 1988. An examination of the papyrus indicated that it was a Late Period "Book of Protection."¹ After a preliminary study, I decided that *pBrooklyn 47.218.49* would make an excellent subject for a dissertation. The contents of the papyrus and its place in the development of religious and magical texts of the Late Period mark it as a document of great importance. Aside from a few passing remarks in publications of other papyri in the collection of the Brooklyn Museum of Art, the papyrus has never been systematically studied.²

A history of the papyrus can be sketchily reconstructed. The papyrus was acquired by Charles Edwin Wilbour at some point between 1881 and 1896 at an unspecified location in Egypt.³ The papyrus came to the Brooklyn Museum of Art in 1947 as part of a bequest by the estate of Ms. Theodora Wilbour, the daughter of Charles Edwin Wilbour, a gift that consisted of nearly 180 papyri in varying states of

¹ On the terminology, see the discussion at pp. 32-36 below.

² S. Sauneron, "Some Newly Unrolled Papyri in the Wilbour Collection of The Brooklyn Museum," *The Brooklyn Museum Annual* 8 (1966-67) 101; S. Sauneron, *Le papyrus magique illustré de Brooklyn* (Brooklyn 1970) 17 (henceforth, *pIllustré*); S. Sauneron, *Un traité égyptien d'ophiologie* (Cairo 1989) 114, 119, 125, 132 (henceforth, *Traité*). The references to the present text in the latter two publications all focus on little known vocabulary common to the texts.

³ On the provenance of the papyrus, see the discussion at pp. 24 below.

preservation.⁴ The papyrus lay in the storeroom of the museum until the fall of 1966, when it was unrolled and mounted under glass by Serge Sauneron, along with a number of other papyri that came with the bequest of 1947.⁵ No records giving a description of the unrolling or placing of the fragments exist.

⁴ Among these papyri were approximately a dozen still rolled papyri written in hieratic; nine rolls written in Aramaic, comprising part of the find of Aramaic texts discovered at Elephantine by *sebakhim* in 1893, for which see A.H. Sayce and A.E. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri Discovered at Assuan* (London, 1906); and fragmentary papyri written in hieratic, demotic, and Greek. It is unclear in what type of storage containers the papyri arrived in the museum. Over the years the fragments came to be housed in cardboard boxes, tin biscuit boxes, and other sundry and assorted containers. In 1991, each fragment group was re-housed in an archival box, prior to the relocation of the papyri in the department's new storerooms. Nonetheless, the contents of these boxes remain almost hopelessly jumbled; anyone attempting a study of a papyrus from this bequest must sift through the boxes in which the fragments are now stored for related fragments. A systematic examination of some of these fragment groups, recently undertaken by the author, has shown that many of the fragments come from the larger papyrus rolls, often from their beginning and end portions that were hitherto assumed lost. In the fall of 1998, a project was undertaken to begin sorting and mounting the stray fragments under glass in order to begin rejoicing them to the texts to which they belong.

⁵ See S. Sauneron, *BMA* 8 (1966-67) 98-102. A number of the papyrus rolls had been previously unrolled and studied before Sauneron's stay as a Wilbour Fellow in 1966-67. Sir Alan Gardiner examined the well-known oracle text, *pBrooklyn* 47.218.3, during his stay in Brooklyn in 1948. That papyrus was subsequently studied and published by R. Parker, *A Saite Oracle Papyrus from Thebes in The Brooklyn Museum [Papyrus Brooklyn 47.218.3]*. *Brown Egyptological Studies* 4. (Providence 1962) (henceforth, *Oracle Papyrus*). The Aramaic papyri were unrolled in 1948 by Anthony Giambalvo, the Department's extremely skilled technician who had considerable experience working with papyrus fragments despite the fact that he could not read any of the languages written on the papyri. The Aramaic papyri were published by E.G. Kraeling, *The Brooklyn Museum Aramaic Papyri: New Documents of the Fifth Century B.C. from the Jewish Colony at Elephantine* (New Haven 1953). An illustrated magical text, *pBrooklyn* 47.218.156, was studied and published by S. Sauneron, *Le papyrus magique illustré de Brooklyn* (Brooklyn 1970). A manual of a number of species of snakes, the effects of their bites and remedies, *pBrooklyn* 47.218.48+85, was studied and published by Sauneron as well, *Un traité égyptien d'ophiologie* (Cairo 1989). A Late Period Wisdom text, *pBrooklyn* 47.218.135, was examined by George Posener during a stay at the museum in 1952-53. The fragments

DESCRIPTION OF THE PAPYRUS

The accession records of the Department of Egyptian, Classical and Ancient Middle Eastern Art of the Brooklyn Museum of Art describe *pBrooklyn 47.218.49* as follows:

Roll of papyrus. Inscribed in Hieratic in red and black. Relatively small hand. Text unidentified.

Period: [not given]

Measurements: Height, 24 cm.

Provenance: Unknown. Container marked "4 LA".

Bequest of Miss Theodora Wilbour from the collection of her father, Charles Edwin Wilbour.

Condition: Fair. Tightly rolled. Portions of about ten outer layers lost. Interior fragile but roll can certainly be opened. Only a few loose fragments.

During his stay in Brooklyn in 1952-53, before the major texts were unrolled, George Posener undertook a preliminary survey of the papyri acquired in 1947. The notes he made during his study simply describe *pBrooklyn 47.218.49* as "a badly damaged papyrus roll".

pBrooklyn 47.218.49 exhibits a range of color that runs from light tan to dark brown. The texts have numerous rubrics, and the coincidence of these with the darker portions of the papyrus has often made the decipherment of the signs in these sections problematic. In accordance with traditional methods, the papyrus was manufactured by attaching a number of sheets together with a slight overlap. The extant complete

of that papyrus were placed under glass in 1959 by Giambalvo. That text was subsequently published by R. Jasnow, *A Late Period Wisdom Text (P. Brooklyn 47.218.135) SAOC 52* (Chicago 1992) (henceforth, *pBrooklyn Wisdom*). See pp. 1-3 and 5-7 of the latter publication for a detailed history of the reconstruction of that papyrus.

sheets now vary in measurement, from approximately 18.5 cm. to 20.5 cm. in width.⁶ The overlap between sheets is 0.3 cm. The height of the papyrus averages between 18.5 cm. and 21.2 cm. depending on the damage to the fragments. The scribe who prepared the papyrus used the edges of each sheet as the margin lines for each column he created, never writing over the joins.⁷ The distance between the end of one column and the beginning of the next is slightly less than 1 cm. where such a distance can be determined. Each of the completely preserved columns of text averages slightly over 19 cm. in width and approximately 20 cm. in height. The scribe left ample space between each line, allowing for the addition of supra linear strokes where they were needed. Overall, the papyrus does not have the crowded appearance of many Late Period texts.⁸

The papyrus presently consists of twelve fragments of varying dimensions. When the papyrus was unrolled and placed under glass, the fragments were numbered. In some cases, however, the number assigned represented a column of text while in other instances it represented a fragment that actually contained a portion of text from one or two columns. I have reassigned numbers to the fragments and the columns for the sake of uniformity and clarity.

⁶ J. Cerný, *Paper and Books in Ancient Egypt* (London 1952) does not extend his discussion of the physical characteristics of manufactured papyri beyond the Ramesside Period; he does note at pp. 16-17, however, that sheets with heights ranging from 18 cm. to 21.5 cm. are already common in the New Kingdom.

⁷ J. Cerný, *Paper and Books* 20-21 discusses the more common scribal practice of disregarding joins while drawing up columns of writing. See, e.g., *pChester Beatty V* which shows a similar use of joins as margin lines.

⁸ See, e.g., *pBrooklyn 47.218.48+85, Traité*, which is 27 cm. in height and has twenty-seven lines of text per column; its sizable upper and lower margins, however, required the scribe to write the lines of text fairly close together, giving the text a somewhat compressed look.

Fragments One through Eight were created by damage to the papyrus when it was still in a rolled state. Substantial loss of text has occurred between these fragments, and some loss has occurred at the top and the bottom of each fragment. In some cases, it is not possible to determine exactly how much text has been lost. The fragments numbered Nine through Twelve were made at the time the papyrus was unrolled. To accommodate the placement of the papyrus between sheets of glass, Sauneron cut the papyrus, making the cuts at the end of every second column. The dimensions of each fragment are given as follows:

Fragment One: Max. Height: 18.5 cm.; Max. Width: 7.8 cm.

Fragment Two: Max. Height: 18.5 cm.; Max. Width: 7.5 cm.

Fragment Three: Max. Height: 19.5 cm.; Max. Width: 7.4 cm.

Fragment Four: Max. Height: 19.8 cm.; Max. Width: 7.4 cm.

Fragment Five: Max. Height: 20.0 cm.; Max. Width: 7.4 cm.

Fragment Six: Max. Height: 20.5 cm.; Max. Width: 7.5 cm.

Fragment Seven: Max. Height: 20.0 cm.; Max. Width: 7.0 cm.⁹

Fragment Eight: Max. Height: 19.5 cm.; Max. Width: 4.6 cm.

Fragment Nine: Max. Height: 21.2 cm.; Width 40.0 cm.¹⁰

Fragment Ten: Max. Height: 20.7 cm.; Width: 37.8 cm.

Fragment Eleven: Max. Height: 21.1 cm.; Width: 37.8 cm.

Fragment Twelve: Max. Height: 21.1 cm.; Width: 49.0 cm.¹¹

⁹ There are eleven small fragments mounted with this fragment that have not been placed.

¹⁰ There are an additional eighteen fragments mounted with this fragment that have not been placed. It is still unclear whether these small pieces belong to Fragment Nine or Eight.

¹¹ There are, in addition, five fragments of varying sizes belonging to Fragment Twelve that were not placed when the papyrus was unrolled, cut and placed under

The preserved portions of the papyrus thus measure 221.2 cm. in length. If the partially preserved column on the right edge of Fragment One is the original first column of text of the papyrus, the overall length of the original document would have been slightly in excess of 240 cm., including the lacunae between the first eight fragments and the five fragments belonging to the end of the papyrus.

These fragments of the papyrus comprise fourteen columns of text in part or whole. Fragments One through Eight, the fragments from the damaged part of the papyrus, collectively contain text from parts of five original columns. Fragment Nine contains two complete columns marred by five vertical lacunae that extend from the top to nearly two-thirds of the way down the papyrus. Fragments Ten and Eleven both contain two complete columns. Fragment Twelve contains two complete columns and a third column that is damaged at its left edge. That third column ends part way down the sheet, indicating that it is the final column of text. Thus, the extant text of fourteen columns is distributed among the fragments as follows:

Fragment One: the end portion Column I¹² and the beginning of Column II.

Fragment Two: the middle portion of Column II.

Fragment Three: a few signs from five upper lines of the end of Column II
and the beginning of Column III.

Fragment Four: the middle portion of Column III.

Fragment Five: the beginning of Column IV, the initial sign of each line now
missing.

Fragment Six: the middle portion of Column IV.

glass. A note in Sauneron's handwriting and taped to the glass reads: "P. 15 [sic] les
fragments ne sont pas remis en ordre."

¹² As has been stated above, there is no way of knowing whether this is the original first column of the text. For the sake of convenience, it has been labeled Column I.

Fragment Seven: the beginning of Column V.

Fragment Eight: the middle portion of Column V.

Fragment Nine: the end portion of Column V and Columns VI and VII.

Fragment Ten: Columns VIII and IX.

Fragment Eleven: Columns X and XI.

Fragment Twelve: Columns XII, XIII, and XIV.

A number of errors were made during the unrolling and placement of the fragments. First, the three fragments of Column V, labeled Fragments Seven, Eight, and Nine above, were separated at the time of the unrolling. Fragments Seven and Eight, which form the right edge and center part of Column V, respectively, were placed under one sheet of glass but with no consideration given to their correct relative position. Fragment Nine, which contains the left edge of Column V and the extant portions of Columns VI and VII, was placed under a different sheet of glass. Thus, it became necessary to reposition these three fragments relative to one another in order to reconstruct what remains of Column V. By assuming the average width of a column to be 19 cm., the width of each of the complete columns, and by using several uniform damage marks that occur in this section of the papyrus as guides, I have been able to give these fragments a tentative though reasonably accurate placement.

Secondly, the original position and the correct numbering of two other fragments were misconstrued after the papyrus was cut and they were separated. Fragment Ten, which actually preserves Columns VIII and IX, was accidentally placed after Fragment Eight; its columns were incorrectly numbered VII and VIII. Fragment Nine, which actually preserves the left edge of Column V and Columns VI and VII, was then placed after Fragment Ten; its columns were incorrectly numbered

IX and X. The damage patterns of the papyrus, however, and a study of the text has indicated that the text at the right of Fragment Nine continues the text of Fragments Seven and Eight and that these three fragmentary pieces of text belong to a single column.¹³

The scribe who prepared the papyrus did not use a uniform number of lines per column. The number of lines in the undamaged columns fluctuates, for the most part, between 18 and 19. The number of lines in the damaged columns is difficult to determine; given the absence of a fixed number of lines per column and the damage that occurs at the top and bottom of the papyrus, it is unclear how many lines, if any, are missing. The number of lines per column is given as follows, based on the extant number of lines:

Column I: 22 lines.¹⁴

Column II: 18 lines.

Column III: 17 lines.

Column IV: 18 lines.

Column V: 18 lines.

Column VI: 19 lines.

Column VII: 19 lines.

Column VIII: 19 lines.

¹³ Internal evidence shows unquestionably that the end of line 14 of the column located at the right hand edge of Fragment Nine continues onto line 15 of the column located at the left edge of Fragment Seven. The same is true of the end of line 16 of the column located at the right edge of Fragment Nine and the beginning of line 17 of Fragment Seven.

¹⁴ The handwriting in this column is considerably smaller than that of the rest of the text. It is possible that this is the hand of another scribe, but the general similarity of the writing of this column to the rest of the papyrus and the paucity of text here suitable for comparison mitigate against such a conclusion at present.

Column IX: 18 lines.

Column X: 19 lines.

Column XI: 19 lines.

Column XII: 19 lines.

Column XIII: 19 lines.

Column XIV: 7 fragmentary lines and 1 partial line.

SCRIPT AND DATE

Although the signs encountered in this text are typical of those found in Late Period hieratic papyri, the hand does not compare favorably with those of other Late Period texts. It does not have the neat and somewhat uniform appearance found in papyri that have been dated to the fourth century BC or to the early Ptolemaic Period. The scribe has a somewhat eccentric hand, one that tends to make vertical signs fairly narrow and horizontal signs that have a somewhat flattened appearance. Many of the signs have been made in a cursory manner, and often two or more signs, typically written with only some similarity in Late Period hieratic, have an identical appearance in the Brooklyn papyrus.¹⁵ Only a few ligatures are encountered.

The difficulties encountered in attempting to date Late Period hieratic papyri on paleographic grounds are well known.¹⁶ There is general agreement among Egyptologists today that dating by paleography can lead only to very general

¹⁵ See p. 13, Table IV below.

¹⁶ See *pBrooklyn Wisdom*, 7 n. 4, for a helpful list of sources where the paleography of Late Period hieratic is discussed. See also, R. Caminos, "Another Hieratic Manuscript from the Library of Pwerem Son of Kiki," JEA 58 (1972) 206 where he remarks that the individual signs within a single document can be favorably compared with those from a broad chronological range.

conclusions.¹⁷ Nonetheless, a comparison with the other rolls from the 1947 bequest does not seem unwarranted.

The hand of the scribe who drew up the present text does not closely resemble those of any of the other Brooklyn papyri published by Parker, Sauneron, or Goyon.¹⁸ Nor does it show similarity to the hands of any of the other as yet unpublished papyri from the 1947 bequest, either those now unrolled or the fragmentary papyri in boxes.¹⁹ The shape of certain individual signs most closely resembles those encountered in *Leinwand* and *pBremner-Rhind*.²⁰ Nevertheless, an

¹⁷ See J. Winand, "La grammaire au secours de la datation des textes," *RdE* 46 (1995) 188-189 and n. 9 and n. 10. Cf., however, U. Verhoeven, "Von hieratischen Literaturwerken in der Spätzeit," *Literatur und Politik im pharaonischen und ptolemäischen Ägypten. BdE* 127 (Cairo 1999) 255-265 who has suggested that the paleography of Saite Period Books of the Dead can be used profitably to date other religious and secular texts.

¹⁸ R. Parker, *Oracle Papyrus x* bases the date of 651 BC for that papyrus on internal evidence. S. Sauneron, *pIllustré* 4, gives a date in the fourth or third centuries BC for his text. S. Sauneron, *Traité xi* dated this third Brooklyn papyrus to D. XXX, the beginning of the Ptolemaic Period or possibly earlier. In his publication of *pBrooklyn 47.218.50*, J.-C. Goyon, *Confirmation du pouvoir royal au nouvel an [Brooklyn Museum Papyrus 47.218.50]*. 2 vols. *Wilbour Monographs* 8, (Brooklyn 1972); *BdE* 52 (Cairo 1972) xi (henceforth, *Confirmation*), dated that papyrus to the end of the fifth or beginning of the fourth centuries BC.

¹⁹ I have had ample opportunity to examine the larger rolls now placed under glass and to sift through the many boxes of fragments that have now been better consolidated since their relocation in the department's new storerooms. During the preparation for the move to the new storeroom, all fragmentary papyri were transferred to conservationally sound archival boxes. It was during the transferal of the fragments to their new containers that I was able to begin an examination of some of the fragments. Two boxes containing fragments had notes appended by Sauneron, stating that some of the fragments contained within belonged to 47.218.49. None of these fragments, however, were of a comparable hand nor did any have similar line spacing.

²⁰ See G. Möller, *HP III* passim who used both of these texts among his Late Period comparative models.

overall comparison of those two texts with *pBrooklyn 47.218.49* does not suggest any strong resemblance. Although the hand is clearly not that of the scribe who composed *pBrooklyn Wisdom*, the two documents do share a number of signs that are very similar in form and that are not commonly found elsewhere.²¹ It must be noted that I am using these three texts for the sake of a general comparison of sign-shapes; the actual overall appearance of a page of *pBrooklyn 47.218.49* is noticeably dissimilar to that of any of these other texts.

²¹ R. Jasnow, *pBrooklyn Wisdom 7*, dated that papyrus to about the fourth century BC. He focused on similarities between that text and *Leinwand* and *pBremner-Rhind* in order to establish a date for the papyrus. It is interesting and worth noting that S. Sauneron, *Traité xi*, used the same two papyri to establish a similar date for that Brooklyn text. The hands that composed those two Brooklyn texts are strikingly similar. But see now, U. Verhoeven, "Von hieratischen Literaturwerken in der Spätzeit," *Literatur und Politik im pharaonischen und ptolemäischen Ägypten. BdE* 127 (Cairo 1999) 255-265, who offers convincing evidence for dating the Brooklyn Wisdom text to the end of the Saite Period, based on the similarity of the hieratic found in two Books of the Dead dated to the Saite Period and that in *pBrooklyn Wisdom*. See U. Verhoeven, *Das saitische Totenbuch des Iahesnacht: P. Colon. Aeg. 10207* (Bonn 1993); *Das Totenbuch des Monthpriesters Nespasefy aus der Zeit Psammetichs I: pKairo JE 95714 + pAlbany 1900.3.1, pKairo JE 95649, pMarseille 291* (Wiesbaden 1999).

Table I. Signs in *pBrooklyn* 47.218.49 Most Closely Resembling Those of *pBremner-Rhind*, *Leinwand*, and *pBrooklyn* 47.218.135 (referred to here as *pBrooklyn Wisdom*)

<i>HP</i>		<i>pBrooklyn</i>	<i>pBremner</i>	<i>Leinwand</i>	<i>pBrooklyn</i> <i>Wisdom</i>
35	𓁃	ـ	ـ	ـ	ـ
80	܂	܂	܂	܂	܂
80	܂	܂	܂	܂	܂
81	܂	܂	܂		܂
95	ـ	ـ	ـ	ـ	
240	܂	܂	܂	܂	܂
345	܂	܂	܂	܂	܂
389	܂	܂	܂	܂	
408	܂	܂	܂	܂	܂
469	ـ	ـ	ـ	ـ	ـ
534	܂	܂	܂	܂	܂
554/555	܂	܂	܂	܂	

Table II: Unusually Shaped Signs

<i>HP</i>	<i>Sign</i>	<i>pBrooklyn</i>
82	ـ	ـ
530	†	†

Table III: Pointed Signs in *pBrooklyn* 47.218.49

<i>HP</i>	<i>Sign</i>	<i>pBrooklyn</i>
587	†	՚
35	𓁻	՚
408	𓁼	ܶ
268	ߝ	ܵ

Table IV: Signs Similarly Made In *pBrooklyn* 47.218.49

<i>HP</i>	<i>Sign</i>	<i>pBrooklyn</i>
188	՚	՚
35	𓁻	՚
103	ܶ	ܶ
105	ܶ	ܶ
35	𓁻	՚
587	†	՚

Although the text exhibits some signs that are similarly written in those papyri used for comparison to date texts to the fourth century BC, its overall appearance is markedly different from those texts. Internal evidence from the text itself may provide a firmer dating.

The name *psmtk*, Psamtik, always written  in a cartouche and occurring twenty-four times in the text, alternates with the term *pr ՚*: "pharaoh,"

written  nineteen times but only once in a cartouche. The occurrence of the name provides a *terminus post quem* for the composition of the papyrus, namely the beginning of the second third of the seventh century BC when the reign of the first king named Psamtik began.

It is possible that the Brooklyn text postdates the Twenty-sixth Dynasty. Given the fact that the papyrus is a compilation of spells that deal with related afflictions, one could argue that the text is a later compilation and that the sections in which the name Psamtik appears are copies of texts that had been prepared in the Twenty-sixth Dynasty.²² Nonetheless, the presence of the word *pr 3* in the sections of the text where the name Psamtik is not employed seems to indicate that the text was prepared for or intended for use by a king. If the text was a compilation of spells drawn up for a king who ruled later than the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, one would expect the scribe to have changed the name Psamtik to that of the king for whom the text was prepared or simply to use *pr 3* throughout the text.²³ The presence of the name, therefore, supports a date in the Twenty-sixth Dynasty.

If we assume that the text was prepared during the reign of one of the three kings named Psamtik, the date for its composition is limited to a range from the first half of the seventh century BC to the end of the third quarter of the sixth century BC when the reign of the ephemeral Psamtik III ended. Thus, the date would be

22 Some spells refer to the victim as Psamtik, some as *pr 3*, while others simply use *s*, "a man." None of the spells use the phrase *mn ms mnt*, "so-and-so, born of so-and-so," commonly encountered in magical and medical texts. See also the discussion below at 32-36.

23 A number of papyrus rolls from the Wilbour bequest whose content is magical seem intended for royal use. Both *pIllustré* and the unpublished *pBrooklyn* 47.218.87, for example, contain spells which mention *pr 3* but no specific king by name.

restricted to some point in their reigns, whose collective total is sixty-four years. It remains to be determined for which Psamtik the text was drawn up.

Table V: Date Ranges for Psamtik I-III²⁴

King	Earliest Date	Latest Date
Psamtik I	664 BC	610 BC
Psamtik II	595 BC	589 BC
Psamtik III	526 BC	525 BC

The name Psamtik, occurring twenty-four times in the text, is consistently written . Such a writing is attested as a spelling of the *nomen* of all three kings named Psamtik.²⁵ Thus, the writing of the name Psamtik offers little insight into the dating of our text.

²⁴ The list of pharaohs named Psamtik given here does not include the three Libyan dynasts so-named. The first two, called Psamtik IV and V to indicate their chronological order, lived during the First Persian Period and are called "kings of the Libyans" by the Classical historians Thucydides and Philochoros. The third dynast so-named, Psamtik VI, lived in the period immediately following and was called king of Egypt by Diodorus. The Egyptian evidence supporting their position as kings of Egypt is extremely scanty and problematic, to say the least. See A. Spalinger, "Psamtik I-III," *LÄ* 4: 1173-1176 for a discussion of these rulers. See also, P.W. Pestman, "The Diospolis Parva Documents: Chronological Problems concerning Psammetichus III and IV," in H.-J. Thissen and K.-Th. Zauzich, eds., *Grammata demotika: Festschrift für Erich Lüddeckens, zum 15. Juni 1983* (Wurzelburg 1984) 145-155. I thank Richard Jasnow for this reference.

²⁵ See J.von Beckerath, *Handbuch der ägyptischen Königsnamen*, MÄS 20 (1984) 274-276. In his study, Von Beckerath seems to have included evidence only from monuments. In early demotic texts, the writing of the name Psamtik occurs regularly as , referring to both Psamtik I and Psamtik II. See F.L. Griffith, *pRylans*

The use of the *nomen* Psamtik may indicate that the papyrus was prepared for Psamtik I, given the absence at the time of his reign of any other king so-named. The use of the *nomen* in a cartouche would not cause confusion in such a case, given that there was only one king known with that name. It is possible, however, that the scribe was instructed to use the *nomen* of the king rather than the *praenomen* since the *nomen* was the name given at birth and was considered the ultimate indicator of identity and existence.²⁶ The *praenomen* was specifically a royal name, chosen at the time of enthronement; it often reflected political considerations of the moment. Furthermore, the present text was specifically prepared for a king and his personal protection; thus, the presence of his actual name may have been important. It seems that additional evidence must be adduced to establish a more specific date for this text and the identity of the king for whom it was written.

The only firmly dated normal hieratic papyri from the Twenty-sixth Dynasty are the Brooklyn Oracle Papyrus, the Book of the Dead of Iahesnakht, and that of Nespasefy. The Oracle Papyrus was prepared in Thebes and dates unequivocally to 651 BC.²⁷ The handwriting of the scribe who prepared that text is quite distinct and bears little resemblance to the texts presently dated to the Late Period. In fact, it compares more favorably to that found in many Ramesside Period papyri from

II, pl. I-XV for numerous examples of the identical writing of the names of Psamtik I and II. The preference for such a writing may well be due to the highly ligatured writing that occurs in early demotic.

²⁶ Hence, the common substitution of the word *k3* for *rn* in Late Period texts. See the remarks of S. Bickel, *La cosmogonie égyptienne* OBO 134 (Freibourg 1994) 36 and n. 16.

²⁷ See R. Parker, *Oracle Papyrus* x

Thebes.²⁸ It bears no resemblance whatsoever to *pBrooklyn 47.218.49*.²⁹ The hands of the scribes who drew up the two Books of the Dead of Iahesnakht and Nesapsefy³⁰ do bear clear similarity to that of *pBrooklyn Wisdom*, particularly the hand of the Iahesnakht text. These hands, however, do not really recall that of *pBrooklyn 47.218.49*.

There is a consensus that the period between the sixth and fourth centuries BC witnessed a change in the writing of "normal" hieratic.³¹ In our text, the sign (Sign-list F21) in the verb *sdm*: "hear" is uniformly written distinguishing it from the same sign written in the word *msdr*: "ear" where it is written . G. Posener has stated that the sign (Sign-list F21) is generally written with one tick before the reign of Darius I and with two afterwards.³² In addition, pointed signs are

28 The Oracle Papyrus is really a compilation of different hands. In addition to that of the scribe who drew up the text, there are fifty witness entries, all individually written and signed. Of those entries, seventeen are written in normal hieratic, twenty-seven in abnormal hieratic, and six in what appears to be a mixture of the two. See R. Parker, *Oracle Papyrus* 14.

29 The dissimilarity in hands between the present text and the Oracle Papyrus may stem from the possibility that *pBrooklyn 47.218.49* was prepared by a scribe from Lower Egypt, perhaps from Sais or Heliopolis. Our extremely limited knowledge about the date and provenance of most Late Period texts, however, allows for little more than conjecture.

30 See U. Verhoeven, *Das saitische Totenbuch des Iahesnacht: P. Colon. Aeg. 10207* (Bonn 1993); *Das Totenbuch des Monthpriesters Nesapsefy aus der Zeit Psammetichs I: pKairo JE 95714 + pAlbany 1900.3.1, pKairo JE95649, pMarseille 291. HÄT 5* (Wiesbaden 1999).

31 See G. Posener, *Le Papyrus Vandier* (Cairo 1985) 10-11; S. Sauneron *RdE* 8 (1951) 191-194; R. Jasnow, *pBrooklyn Wisdom* 8. The term "normal" hieratic is used here to distinguish it from abnormal hieratic, a writing system that developed at the end of Dynasty XXV and continued in use into Dynasty Twenty-six but only at Thebes based on the present state of the evidence.

32 See G. Posener, *pVandier*, 11, n. 21. This statement needs qualification since the sign is written alternately with one or two ticks in Books of the Dead of early

encountered in texts of the Late Period and are arguably more common in the sixth to fourth centuries; they are a common feature in the present text.³³ If such paleographic features are the *result* of a change or development in the writing of normal hieratic³⁴ that began in the sixth century and appear in texts dated to the fifth and fourth centuries BC, then such evidence would point to a date later than the seventh century BC for *pBrooklyn 47.218.49*. If we are to base the dating of this text on such evidence, it seems best to assign a date in the reign of Psamtik II or Psamtik III, both of whom ruled in the sixth century BC.

The paucity of firmly dated texts from which to build a body of trustworthy evidence, however, reduces most of such reasoning to mere guesswork. In the current thinking of Egyptological scholarship, written features of hieratic have yet to prove to be reliable dating criteria.³⁵ Furthermore, it is possible that many of the changes that scholars see in the writing of normal hieratic actually began in the seventh century

Dynasty XVIII. See I. Munro, *Das Totenbuch des Jah-mes (pLouvre E. 11085) aus der frühen 18. Dynastie. HÄT 1* (Wiesbaden 1995) 6, fig. 3, Nr. 158/159 where the sign Ⳛ is written once with one and once with two ticks in the writing of the verb *sdm*.

33 The term pointed sign indicates a sign above which the scribe has placed a dot or small oblique stroke. Such writings first appear in the Ramesside Period and continue into the Late Period, occurring even in archaic demotic. See G. Posener, *pVandier 10* and 10, n.1.

34 The phrase "normal hieratic" is not a technical term but is simply used here to distinguish it from the writing system known as abnormal hieratic. Given the increase in the use of hieratic only for religious texts during this period, the term "hieratic" is certainly apt, in the literal sense of the word, to describe the writing used in those texts.

35 See n. 17 above.

BC or earlier.³⁶ If that is the case, a date in the reign of Psamtik I cannot be ruled out for this text.

A group of texts known from El Kab in Crypt B' of the Temple of the goddess Nekhbet show a number of close parallels to passages in the Brooklyn papyrus. These texts date unquestionably to the reign of Psamtik I.³⁷ The occurrence of these texts at El Kab marks their only appearance before the Ptolemaic Period when they are known from later parallels in the temples at Edfu, Dendera, and Philae. The texts at El Kab consist of seven short spells with vignettes, all designed for the protection of Psamtik against dangerous powers, some associated with Sakhmet and others with the evils associated with the coming of the new year.³⁸ The form of these spells is similar; each begins with a series of epithets addressed to a deity, who is seen as potentially malignant, followed by an appeal to that deity to save the Pharaoh from dangers that are then specified. The structure of these spells is similar to that of several spells in the Brooklyn text, notably Spell E. A comparison of the El Kab texts and the parallels found in *pBrooklyn 47.218.49* is given as follows.

El Kab I: 
mi nhm.k nfr nfr nb t3wy pzm̄k m-^c h3yyw nw shmt³⁹

36 Firmly dated papyri from the Third Intermediate Period are also scarce, other than funerary texts.

37 See J. Capart, "Les sept paroles de Nekhabit," *CdE* 15 (1940) 21-29. The texts have both the praenomen and the nomen of Psamtik I, the latter showing spellings with both low *s* and high *š*. These texts were later usurped by Amasis.

38 Capart's interpretation of these texts was later challenged by S. Sauneron, "Le nouveau sphinx composite du Brooklyn Museum et la rôle du dieu Toutou-Tithoës," *JNES* 19 (1960) 269-287.

39 *CdE* 15 (1940) 22.

"Come! May you save the perfect god, the Lord of the Two Lands, Psamtik from the massacres of Sakhmet."

pBrooklyn: There is no exact parallel referring to the "massacres of Sakhmet," but references to evils associated with Sakhmet do occur in the Brooklyn text and references to saving or protecting Psamtik from such occur routinely in the text.

El Kab II:

*nḥm.tn ntr nfr psmtk m-‘ s‘d [nb...]*⁴⁰

"May you save the perfect god Psamtik from [any] slaughter..."

pBrooklyn X/2-3:

nn ir.f s‘d.f im.f

"He (i.e., the agent of evil) shall not make his slaughter in him (i.e., Psamtik)."

El Kab III:

*nḥm.k ntr nfr W3ḥ ib R‘ s3 R‘ psmtk m-‘ dḥr nb m rnpt tn*⁴¹

"May you save the perfect god *W3ḥ ib R‘*, son of Re, Psamtik from any bitterness of this year."

pBrooklyn IV/15-16:

*nḥm.tn sw m-‘ hsbwy sw m-‘ i[3dt] nw rnpt tn m-‘ d3d3 nb m-‘ šmm [nbt m-‘] hsbwy
nbt pr m r3 n ntr nty hw [...] t3 dr.f*

"May you save him from doom (?), him from the epi[demic] of this year, from every great fiendish being, from every fever, [from] every doom (?) that comes forth from the mouth of the god who floods [...] the entire land."

pBrooklyn X/3-4:

nn ir.f dḥr h3ty.f

"He (i.e., the agent of evil) will not make his (i.e., Psamtik's) heart bitter."

pBrooklyn III/5:

⁴⁰ *CDE* 15 (1940) 23.

⁴¹ *CDE* 15 (1940) 23.

[...].sn dhrt.fr ib[.sn]...

"...they (i.e., tutelary deities)...his (i.e., the agent of evil) bitterness against [their] hearts."

El Kab IV:

*nḥm.k s3 R^c psmtk [m-^c hry.k mk sw m-^c s^cy.k n nsr.k ntf s3 shmt m rnpt tn hr.s is hnsw s3 b3stt hr nb 3w-ib]*⁴²

"May you save the son of Re, Psamtik [from the wicked. Protect him from your slaughter of your flame. You (sic) are the son of Sakhmet in this year of which she is master. Lo, Khonsu, son of Bastet, Horus, Lord of Joy.]"]

pBrooklyn: no exact parallel, although the phrase *i3dt rnpt tn* found in the Brooklyn text at IV/15 has close associations with Sakhmet.

El Kab V:

*nḥm.tn Pr c3 m-^c hryw*⁴³

"May you save the Pharaoh from the wicked."

pBrooklyn III/15-16:

mi nḥm.k [Pr c3 m-] mwt mwtt hm-r3

"Come! May you save [the Pharaoh from] a dead male, a dead female and so on."

pBrooklyn III/17-18:

mi nḥm.k Pr c3 m-^c hft, [pfy mwt mwtt d3 d3t hm-r3]

"Come! May you save the Pharaoh from the enemy, [the fiend, dead male, dead female, male adversary, female adversary and so on.]"]

pBrooklyn IV/5-6:

mi [nḥm ps]mtk m-^c hft.f mi nḥm [.k] m-^c 3d sw m sm3y.w [...]

42 The text given here includes the more complete versions found at Philae and Dendera.

43 *CdE* 15 (1940) 24-25.

"Come! Save Psamtik from his enemy like [you] saved [...] from the Furious
One, him from the Accomplices ..."

pBrooklyn IV/6:

nḥm mw̄t mw̄t hft hft n psm̄k

"Drive off the dead male, the dead female, the male enemy, the female enemy of
Psamtik."

El Kab VI:

mi nḥm Pr 3⁴⁴

"Come! Save the Pharaoh."

pBrooklyn: no exact parallel, since in the Brooklyn text the verb phrase with *nḥm*
is always followed by a prepositional phrase introduced by *m-* that specifies
the evil against whom the king needs protection.

El Kab VII:

*shr sby m h3t wi3 [nḥm.k] Pr 3 m-[...]*⁴⁵

"Make the rebel fall from the prow of the barque of Re. [May you save] the
Pharaoh from [...]"

pBrooklyn III/4-5:

shr.sn sw hr [...]

"May they (i.e., tutelary deities) make him (i.e., the agent of evil) fall upon [...]"

Despite the fact that the texts from El Kab are brief and that they state that the king is being protected from a variety of ailments,⁴⁶ the significance of the parallels between these two groups of texts cannot be overlooked. Although it is clear the neither is a direct copy of the other, the similarities are striking. Both belong to the

⁴⁴ *CdE* 15 (1940) 25.

⁴⁵ *CdE* 15 (1940) 25-26.

⁴⁶ See S. Saumeron, *JNES* 19 (1960) 269-287 for a useful discussion of the roles and purposes that texts like those from the El Kab crypt were intended to have. See also, H. de Meulenaere, "Sobek à El Kab," *CdE* 44 (1969) 13-21.

genre of the royal book of protection, seemingly unknown elsewhere in the Saite Period.⁴⁷ The evidence from the El Kab texts lends strong support to assigning a date in the reign of Psamtik I for the composition of the Brooklyn text.

We must not overlook, however, the possibility of a date in the fourth century BC. The interest in magical content and traditions was very strong during that time period. It witnessed the production of the Metternich Stele, and many of the so-called “magical statues” date to that period.⁴⁸ A number of them have a known provenance in the Delta,⁴⁹ and Athribis is thought to be the site most active in the pursuits of magic at this time.⁵⁰ In the Greek, demotic and Coptic magical texts from later periods,⁵¹ a king named Psammetikhos occurs frequently.⁵² Although there is no

47 There are a number of unpublished books of protection in the Brooklyn Museum of Art that may well date to the Saite Period.

48 Of the 32 or so known statues or fragments, 4 have textual evidence that dates them to the fourth century BC: Cairo JE 46341 (Djed-Hor); Cairo JE 41671 (reign of Nectanebo II); Cairo JE 87083 (reign of Nectanebo II); Vienna 5157 (Djed-Hor). Additionally, New York MMA 1989.281.201; Munich ÄS 2824; and Paris Louvre E. 10777 have stylistic affinities with other statues known to date to this period. See now, L. Kakosy, *Egyptian Healing Statues in Three Museums in Italy* (Turin, Florence, Naples) (Turin 1999) 27-29.

49 Cairo JE 46341; Chicago OI 9397; Florence 1788 were found at Athribis. Cairo JE 41677 and JE 87083 were found at Tell Basta.

50 Personal communication from Claude Traunecker to Richard Fazzini, my colleague at the Brooklyn Museum of Art.

51 For the latest studies of these texts, see *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation, Including the Demotic Spells*, ed. H. D. Betz (Chicago 1992); and *Ancient Christian Magic. Coptic Texts of Ritual Power*, M. Meyer and R. Smith, eds. (San Francisco 1994).

52 The Greek historical tradition seems to have made a distinction among the three kings named Psamtik. In Africanus, the name of Psamtik I was given as Psammetikhos, that of Psamtik II as Psammuthis, and Psamtik III was called Psammecherites. Eusebius states that Psamtik II was also called Psammetikhos;

known evidence to date, it is possible that Psamtik I, the king known by the name Psammetikhos in the Greek historical traditions, had gained such stature by the fourth century BC in the eyes of the Egyptian priests. Should that be the case, one could understand the impetus to leave, or use, the name of Psamtik, a powerful magician, in these spells when they were prepared. The lack of evidence leaves this possibility in the realm of conjecture. For now, it seems best to tentatively assign a date for this papyrus in the reign of Psamtik I.

PROVENANCE

There is no information in the departmental records about the provenance of the papyrus. An examination of the Wilbour Notebooks has yielded no information about Wilbour's acquisition of this papyrus. Both S. Sauneron and J.-C. Goyon suggest a northern provenance for the Brooklyn papyri that they edited.⁵³ Focusing solely on internal textual references to gods and rituals associated with Heliopolis and Memphis, they argue, albeit very hypothetically, that those papyri belonged to a temple library in the Memphite-Heliopolitan region. Although the present collection of spells has close connections with a sequence of texts found at El Kab also dating to the reign of Psamtik I, that single association does not provide strong enough evidence to assume a southern provenance. The contents of the papyrus, concerned with the protection of the king through magical spells and medical prescriptions, may

Psamtik III does not appear in his list for Dynasty XXVI. See W.D. Waddell, *Manetho* 168-173.

⁵³ See S. Sauneron, *pIllusté* viii-x; J.-C. Goyon, *Confirmation* 13-16. See S. Quirke's review of Sauneron's *Traité* and Jasnow's publication of the Brooklyn Wisdom text in *JEA* 83 (1997) 243-245 where he discusses the difficulties encountered in assigning dates and provenances to texts like these.

indicate that it was intended for actual use by the king at the royal residence at Sais or at Memphis. A site elsewhere in the Delta may have been its place of manufacture.⁵⁴ All conjecture aside, it seems best to state that the place of its composition and the circumstances under which it was drawn up still remain a mystery.

GRAMMAR

The language of *pBrooklyn 47.218.49* is essentially the Middle Egyptian one encounters in religious texts from the Late Period; it exhibits very few features of Late Egyptian grammar. This is not surprising, given the conservative nature of religious texts and their tendency to employ the classical language of Middle Egyptian.⁵⁵ A sampling of the grammatical forms encountered is given as follows:⁵⁶

Pronouns

- a. The suffix pronouns are regularly employed for both possession and as suffix pronoun subjects in *sdm.f* and *sdm.n.f* constructions.
 1. 1st person singular  : VIII/1-3.
 2. 2nd person singular masculine  : VIII/12; X/6-7; X/10; X/13.
 3. 2nd person feminine  : XIII/11.

⁵⁴ See the discussion above at 23 and 23, nn. 49-50.

⁵⁵ The recent article by P. Vernus, "Entre néo-égyptien et démotique, la langue utilisée dans la traduction du rituel de repousser l'agressif (Etude sur la diglossie I)," *RdE* 45 (1994) 153-208, is most instructive on the development of the vernacular used in religious texts in the transitional period between New Egyptian and Demotic.

⁵⁶ The grammatical terminology employed here is that found in J.P. Allen, *Middle Egyptian. An Introduction to the Language and Culture of Hieroglyphs* (Cambridge 2000). The list of examples given here is by no means exhaustive. It is intended to give the reader an overall appreciation of the grammar and language of the text as typical of that of classical Middle Egyptian.

4. 3rd person singular masculine : II/6; II/7; II/8; IV/9; X/1; and X/3-4.
 5. 3rd person singular feminine : XIII/12; spelled : XIII/12-13; spelled : VIII/12.
 6. 2nd person plural : VI/13; VI/16; VI/19.
 7. 3rd person plural is commonly : I/19; III/3; III/7. The spelling occurs at XI/11. The New Egyptian form is found at XI/6; XI/11.
- b. The impersonal pronoun subject occurs at VI/15; X/11; XIII/11 (possibly)⁵⁷
- c. The dependent pronouns
1. 3rd person singular masculine sw: IV/6; VIII/3; XII/19
- d. The independent pronoun in nominal sentences
1. ink: VII/15; VIII/2; VIII/3.
 2. : ntf: II/16; XII/19; XIII/1; XIII/7.

Demonstratives

- a. The demonstrative adjectives : pn and : tn are used regularly. The later form pwy is found at III/2; V/7; XIII/15. None of the later demonstrative series , , and : p3y, t3y, and n3y are employed.

Articles

- a. The definite article series , , and : p3, t3 and n3 appear frequently: IX/13; IX/15; IX/17. There are no occurrences of the demonstrative and possessive adjectives derived from them. Both : p3 and : t3 are used as vocative markers at X/12; XIII/17.

⁵⁷ See the discussion at XIII/11, n.F and n.I below.

Prepositions

- a. No Late Egyptian preposition such as *i.ir*, *i.ir-hr*, or *r-sb3w* occur.
- b. Middle Egyptian prepositions
 1. : *m* “in, from, etc.” : II/9; XII/16; XIII/1.
 2. : *m-*“from” : IV/5; IV/15; IV/18.
 3. : *m-b3h* “in the presence of” : VII/8.
 4. : *m-m* “together with” : VI/13.
 5. : *m-h3t* “in front of; before” : IX/14.
 6. : *m-hnw* “within” : II/11; XIII/4.
 7. : *m-h4* “after; accompanying” : IV/7; XI/10; XII/2; XIII/13.
 8. : *m-dr* “after” : XI/1; XI/17.
 9. : *mi* “like; likewise” : IV/5; X/14; XI/3; XI/7.
 10. : *r* “at; against” : II/6; XII/16-17; XII/19.
 11. : *r-hft-hr* : “before; in front of” : VII/9; VII/16; IX/17 (written *hft-hr n*).
 12. : *hn*“and; together with” : VII/9; XII/11.
 13. : *hr* “upon” : IV/9; V/4; V/10; XII/11.
 14. : *hft* “when” : IV/13; V/3; VII/8; VII/12; IX/14; IX/16; X/9; XII/10.
 15. : *hr* “under; in possession of” : XII/12.

Genitive Marker

- a. The masculine form  *n* occurs at II/10; II/11; VII/11; VII/15; VIII/5.
- b. The feminine form  *nt* is found at II/7; V/12; VII/3 (following a masculine noun); IX/14; XIII/3.
- c. The plural writing  *nw* appears at XIII/3.

Verb Forms

- a. *sdm.f* forms appear regularly and are the most common verb form employed in the text: III/3; IV/2; IV/10; IV/17; VI/12; VIII/1; IX/14; XI/3. In many cases, it is difficult to distinguish between the employment of the *sdm.f* prospective and the *sdm.f* subjunctive. X/2-6 appears to contain a long string of *sdm.f* forms, all negated with *nn*, that seem best translated as prospectives.
- b. *sdm.f* passive: XIII/11.
- c. *iw sdm.f*: III/11; VIII/12; X/15.
- d. *sdm.n.f* forms⁵⁸ are found in a number of places: II/7; II/13; II/14; II/15; V/9; VII/14; XIII/6.
- e. *iw sdm.n.f*: III/11; VIII/2; VIII/3; VIII/14; X/9-10.
- f. *iw sdm.n.tw.f*: III/11.
- g. *sdm.k3.f*: III/13.
- h. The passive form *rh.tw.f* appears at VI/4 and *dd.tw r3 pn* is found at VII/9.
- i. One example of a Late Egyptian relative form occurs at 10/13.
- j. Participles appear frequently in the text: II/6; IV/8; V/3; VI/4; VI/7; VI/10; VII/7-8; VIII/9; IX/6; IX/13. The spellings seem invariable with little distinction between active and passive or imperfective and perfective forms. The spelling $\overline{\overline{d}}\overline{d}$, for example, seems to have been employed at VII/7-8 for both the imperfective active and the perfective

⁵⁸ In the lacunae-ridden sections in the first third of the papyrus, it is difficult to differentiate between a true *sdm.n.f* form and an imperative + a dative prepositional phrase. I have listed only identifiable *sdm.n.f* forms here.

passive participle. The writing  *irwt*: “what has been done” at X/2 provides one clear example of a perfective passive participle.

- k. Examples of imperatives can be found at II/7; III/15; IV/5; VII/4; VII/8; XIII/7.

Negation

- a.  *nn* appears regularly in the text in both non-verbal sentences and *sdm.f* constructions: I/12; II/8; IV/2; IV/3; VI/4; VIII/3; VIII/16; X/2-X/5; XI/14. It is found once in a *sdm.n.f* construction X/1.
- b.  *tm* appears occasionally in the text: III/12; XII/14.
- c.  *bn* occurs once in the text at X/13, in a possibly corrupt passage. See X/13, n. AJ below.
- d. The negative imperative verb  *imy* is found at XII/16; it is written as  in a number of places; see, for example XII/19; XIII/7.
- e. The negative subjunctive construction  *im.f sdm* is found at XIII/16.
- f. The negative noun clause marker  *iwty* appears at V/16.

Copula

No examples of the construction of nominal sentences with *pw* occur.

What is perhaps most striking upon reading this text is the nearly complete absence of Late Egyptian or vernacular vocabulary, forms, and syntax. The phonetic exchanges of the letters *g*, *k*, and *k̥*, for example, that one frequently encounters in late Period texts are also absent. One routinely encounters in religious and medical texts the notion that “older is better.” Certain spells or remedies are said to have proven

themselves "effective millions of times."⁵⁹ It may be that the premium placed on the "archaic" was one of the principal driving force behind the persistence of the Middle Egyptian idiom in religious texts into very late times.

VOCABULARY AND ORTHOGRAPHY

The vocabulary of *pBrooklyn 47.218.49* is in general that found in traditional religious, magical and medical texts of the Late Period. There are a number of words that exhibit the peculiar spellings commonly found in texts that the *Wörterbuch* characterizes as "spät." In addition, there are a number of words not found in the *Wörterbuch*, the *Wörterbuch der medizinischen Textes*, R.O. Faulkner's *Concise Dictionary* or the three extant volumes of D. Meeks, *Année Lexicographique*. Most of these words can be found in the publications of other individual papyri that postdate the appearance of the standard reference works. Only a few words seem known only from *pBrooklyn 47.218.49*. They are

X/11, n.AJ

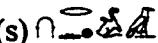
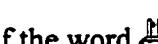
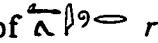
hnr3m: XII/5, n.EH

All of these words, for which a discussion of orthography and/or meaning is given in the commentary to the spell in which they appear, can be found in the Index below.

SCRIBAL ERRORS, ADDITIONS AND SUPRA LINEAR SIGNS

There are relatively few scribal errors in the text. A number of supra linear signs do occur in the text, however. Invariably, they have been added to assist the reading of the sign or word above which they appear. They are given as follows:

⁵⁹ See for example the end of Spell G² below (VIII/1). Book of the Dead Spells Pleyte 167-169 offer excellent examples of this phenomenon. See T.G. Allen, *BD* 216-221.

- a. The sign ✕ at II/3 to mark the word(s)  written below as a magical name.
- b. The signs  at III/10 to clarify the reading of the word  s̄hw: "vicinity."
- c. The sign  at III/13 to correct the spelling of  rwi: "depart."
- d. The signs  at VII/11, possibly an inadvertent omission before the writing of the signs  of the word rdwy: "feet."
- e. The signs at XII/11, where the scribe inadvertently omitted the word  ss: "writing" and added it later.

THE CONTENTS OF P. BROOKLYN 47.218.49

pBrooklyn 47.218.49 is a compilation of spells, all of which are concerned with the protection of the ear. There are seventeen extant individual spells that vary greatly in length and in the scope of their address.

For the most part, the spells are statements made to inimical forces that have entered or that threaten to enter the ear of Pharaoh to inflict pain or damage. A number of the spells extend their reference point from the ear to other parts of the anatomy such as the head, the temple, the heart, the limbs and the body in general.⁶⁰ These diverse anatomical parts form a list of bodily regions to which the assailing forces are denied access and are invariably additions to the physical feature of primary concern, the ear.

The inimical forces are not to be seen as the disease itself but rather as agents that bring or cause the disease.⁶¹ They are not mere personifications but beings that

⁶⁰ See for example II/8; VIII/5; IX/3; X/3-5; XII/4; XIII/1

⁶¹ See the remarks of S. Sauneron, *Kemi* 20 (1970) 15.

play an active role in the struggle between the ordered cosmos and the forces of chaos that threaten from without. The body was obviously understood as a microcosm of the ordered universe that was constantly threatened by an incursion of the forces of chaos who lay outside of that ordered realm, or even by the malignant aspects of forces within, particularly at dangerous times like night or the epagomenal days that preceded the New Year.⁶²

Texts like those contained in *pBrooklyn 47.218.49* have been described over the last century by a number of terms such as "magical," "medical," "magico-medical," or "magico-religious," designations that continue to be used, almost interchangeably. Such terms are only helpful in that they indicate, in a limited way, the contents of a given text. Terms like "magico-medical" and "magico-religious," moreover, have the unfortunate problem of making a text so described sound like a hybrid, which it certainly is not.⁶³ There are really several distinct types of texts that have been lumped together under such unfortunate terms like "magico-medical." A distinction among the different types of texts encountered must be held in mind. The first class of texts consists of those that begin with the description of a disease followed by a diagnosis and instructions for the care of the patient; often, a prescription is given, that is, a mixture of ingredients and the instructions for its application and use.⁶⁴ Such a text is best described as a true medical text. A second

62 See S. Sauneron *JNES* 19 (1960) 282-283 where such beings are described as divine beings who have the power to inflict evil or to withhold it for others; they are regularly seen as the emissaries of Sakhmet.

63 See R. Ritner, *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice* SAOC 54 Chicago (1993) passim but especially 4-28 where he fully discusses the problems of terminology in attempting to define the term "magic" and its range of applicability.

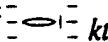
64 The sections of *pEdwin Smith* dealing with cerebral injuries offer the best example of such texts.

type of text, also a true medical text, consists of a prescription, and more commonly a series thereof, for a disease whose nature has been stated briefly in a heading.⁶⁵ A third group consists of ritual utterances and instructions for their use as an amulet or instructions for the application of amulets, each made of a specified material; such texts are more correctly called protection texts or an amuletic texts.⁶⁶ The last class consists of those that involve a ritual utterance, often introduced by a description of a disease or ailment, concluding with a medical prescription and instructions for its application and use.⁶⁷ This type of text is also a protection text. The difference between the first two and the latter two groups is that the former always focus on curing a disease or righting a wrong from which the patient is already suffering. The latter two classes can have either a curative or apotropaic function, that is, their purpose is to cure an extant ailment or to ward off one whose advent is feared. The difference between the third and fourth type of text lies in the function accorded to the prescription described in the instructions at the end of the spell. In the third type of text, the instructions emphasize the amuletic nature of the spell and its applications. In the fourth type, the instructions state that the spell is to be recited over a prescription that will be used internally or topically as a medicine.

⁶⁵ *pmedBerlin* and *pmedLondon* are prime examples of such a text.

⁶⁶ A number of spells of *pChesterBeatty V, VII, and VIII* offer good examples of this type of text. The instructions of these texts show that their applications function apotropaically as amulets. Such texts have been consistently called "magical" texts. The term *magic* should be avoided as a general term in almost all disciplines of ancient studies. See R. Ritner, *Mechanics 4-28*, on problems involving the term *magic* and its range of uses in Egyptian thought. The texts published by I.E.S. Edwards, *Oracular Amuletic Decrees of the Late New Kingdom* 2 Vols. *HPBM*, 4th Ser. (London 1960) also fall into this category. In his publication, Edwards correctly refers to them as amulet texts.

⁶⁷ *pBrooklyn 47.218.49* offers several examples of this type of text.

pBrooklyn 47.218.49 consists of spells of both the third and fourth types as described above, the whole forming what is best described as a book of protection. The beginning of each spell is marked by an introductory heading. In fifteen of the seventeen spells, the introductory phrase is  *ky r3*: "Another Spell," a heading commonly found in compilation texts; *ky r3* is written in rubrics unless the last signs of the prescription of the preceding spell are written in red. In such a case the scribe used black ink to indicate the change from one spell to the next. One of the sixteen spells is headed by  *kt-ht r3w*: "Other Spells." The heading for the one other spell is missing. The introductory heading is followed by an appeal, either to the forces of chaos to desist from attacking the king or to the forces of order to come to protect the Pharaoh from the malevolent forces who assail him. This appeal is often repeated, or an additional one is made. In a number of spells, various threats are made against the forces of chaos, and in one instance apparently against Pharaoh if he is not cured. In others, there are mythological allusions, some well known, others unfamiliar. Each spell concludes with a prescription or a set of instructions. Rubrics were used for the writing of the prescriptions as well, but rarely is the entire prescription written in red. The more common practice was to write the first few words in red and then continue the prescription in black, so that the rubricized heading of the next spell would stand out.⁶⁸

The prescription usually consists of a list of "pharmacological" ingredients prepared as a topical medicine over which the spell is to be recited, followed by instructions for its application. In some spells, however, the prescription consists simply of an instruction for the recitation of the spell. All of the prescriptions are

⁶⁸ See for example, II/5-6; XII/10-16; XIII/8-10.

introduced by  *dd mdw hr* "To be recited over..." It is to be noted that the framing of each spell with *ky r3* and *dd mdw hr*, common in texts of this genre, emphasizes that much of the effectiveness of the spell lies in its oral "application."

Spells like those in the present text usually involve the replay of some event in a cosmic drama: the murder and dismemberment of Osiris and his subsequent reconstruction; the battle between Horus and Seth; the stinging of Horus or Re by a scorpion; and the protection of Horus by Isis who hides him from the accomplices of Seth are among the commonly encountered events that are replayed in such texts. The patient is identified as Horus, or sometimes as Re, and the doctor or magician is assigned the role played by Isis, another deity or a number of deities invoked to play an apotropaic role. The cosmic drama is reenacted with the desired, and already known, outcome in mind. In this way, the patient is "cured" or "protected" and the hostile forces are rendered impotent, at least for the moment.

A number of spells in *pBrooklyn 47.218.49* give variations on this theme. The diseased or threatened part of the body, in this text the ear, becomes the cosmic location where the struggle between the forces of order and chaos takes place. The prescription of Spell J (VIII, 11-15), for example, states that the text of the spell is "to be recited over an image of Horus (and) an image of Seth drawn upon the ear of a man." Thus, the mythological struggle between Horus and Seth is said to take place at or in the ear. The outcome of that battle, already known, predicts the successful protection or cure of the patient. Spell I uses an image of the barque of Re in its prescription. In this spell, the attempt to cure the ear is associated with the daily journey of the sun and, thus, the sun god's triumph over his enemies.⁶⁹ As stated

⁶⁹ See VIII/15, n. P below.

above, the curative process for disease is twofold: the agents responsible for the disease are destroyed, dispelled or neutralized through the act of ritual utterance; the anatomical part of the body that is currently threatened or diseased is treated with a physical remedy or amulet. The whole process is viewed as a unity, each "part" playing the specific role it was designed to.

In several spells of *pBrooklyn 47.218.49*, the primary physical agent mentioned in the arsenal of the inimical forces is ⲥ⩱⩱ *hh*, "fire,"⁷⁰ a word encountered in the religious, "amuletic" and medical repertoire as one of the more potent weapons of the inimical forces, and, in turn, of the gods who strive to repel them.⁷¹ It seems obvious enough that pain due to earache or to inflammation of the ear could easily be connected with fire or even understood to be caused by fire.

A brief synopsis of each individual spell of *pBrooklyn 47.218.49* and the mythological allusions that it contains are given as follows:

Spell A (I/1-21): too fragmentary for any positive identification. The name Psamtik occurs twice.

Spell B (I/22-II/6): very fragmentary, containing one allusion to Re and one to Osiris. The spell concludes with a fragmentary prescription.

Spell C (II/6-18): begins with an address to unidentified forces that assail the ear of Pharaoh. The god Re functions as the agent of protection. The patient is said to be Horus, son of Isis, and a number of his individual body parts are each stated to be associated with a specific deity, among whom Osiris, Horus Khenty-Khem,

⁷⁰ This word has both positive and negative associations. See VIII/5, n.X below.

⁷¹ See J. Zandee, *Death as an Enemy According to Ancient Egyptian Conceptions* (Leiden 1960) 137-138.

Horus son of Isis, and Wadjet are mentioned. The word *pr* '3 occurs three times.

The spell concludes with a prescription.

Spell D (III/1-14): begins with an address to various forces, all unidentifiable with the exception of  *b*: "the Evil One."⁷² References in a fragmentary section of the spell mention Seth, his injured testicles and his confederates. There is also an unclear reference to *Wn-nfr*. The word *pr* '3 occurs four times. There are three lacunae where the term *pr* '3 or the name Psamtik needs to be restored. The spell concludes with a prescription.

Spell E (III/15-V/3): this spell has a number of parallels in the group of texts found in Crypt B' of the Temple of Nekhbet at El Kab and dating to the reign of Psamtik I.⁷³ The text here begins with an appeal to three deities, Re, Osiris Heqadjet and a god whose name is lost, possibly Atum. There are apparent references in a lacunae-ridden section to what will happen if the patient does not recover. Then comes an appeal to an unidentifiable daughter of Nut to save Psamtik as she once saved Horus from the "furious one" and from "the companions," both probably references to Seth and his accomplices. Next comes an address to the gods of the cardinal points, followed by an appeal to a generalized group of non-deities to protect Psamtik from  *hsb* "doom,"  *i3dt rnpt tn* "the epidemic of this year," and  *hsb nb pr m r3 n ntr hhw t3* [...] *dr.f* "doom that comes forth from the god who

⁷² See *Wb*. I 410, 9 where this word is said to be used indiscriminately as a designation of the archetypal enemy of the sun god or of Osiris, namely Apophis and Seth respectively. See also P. Derchain, "Bebon, le dieu et les mythes," *RdE* 9 (1952) 25 n.6, and P. Vernus, "Un décret de Thoutmosis à la santé publique," *Orientalia* 48 (1979) 179, n.12.

⁷³ See the discussion above at pp. 18-22 above.

floods... the entire land." Before the prescription is given there is an appeal to the great and small Enneads to save Psamtik from the "rebels." The name Psamtik occurs five times and *pr* 3 once. There are two lacunae where the name Psamtik or *pr* 3 needs to be restored. The spell concludes with a prescription.

Spell F (V/3-11): begins with an appeal to an unidentifiable being. There is a reference to Osiris and another to an image of Khepri. Then comes a reference to Heliopolis and another to the West. The *giw*-plant, known chiefly from medical texts, plays a role and is addressed twice. Neither Psamtik nor *pr* 3 is mentioned. The spell concludes with a prescription.

Spell G¹ (V/11-VI/12): the fragmentary opening has an unclear reference to Thoth. Next comes a long appeal to numerous deities, none of whom are named; each is introduced by a specific epithet that occasionally helps to establish the identity of the deity. In this lacunae-riddled section of the text, at least thirty-five different deities are invoked.

Spell G² (VI/13-VIII/1): this text is a direct address to the deities invoked in the preceding part of the spell. The text dwells on the nature of these deities and their particular powers and points out their general soundness and well-being. It then goes on to list a number of images of deities who are to play an apotropaic role and who are to be drawn on a large linen band. Certain amulets are also mentioned. Then come mythological references to Horus searching for his father Osiris, with specific references to Busiris and Abydos. The term *pr* 3 is used once. The spell concludes with a long rubric that gives instructions about the performance and application of the spell.

Spell H (VIII/1-6): the fragmentary beginning of the spell makes allusions to the child Horus and to fire. The one reciting the spell apparently states that he has not

given nor will he give the boy Horus to the fire. There is a reference to remedies which come forth from the body of Re. The name Psamtik occurs once. The spell concludes with a rubric that gives the prescription.

Spell I (VIII/6-11): begins with four enigmatic phrases introduced by what appears to be the particle  *iw-ms*. There follows a reference to the sealing of the mouth(s) of the inimical forces. Then comes a rubric which states that the spell should be recited over an image of the Barque of Re. The name Psamtik is mentioned once. There is no prescription given.

Spell J (VIII/11-15): begins with a mythological reference to the battle between Horus and Seth; Isis and Nephthys are each named. The rubric concluding the spell states that it should be "recited over an image of Horus and an image of Seth drawn upon the ear of a man." Neither Psamtik nor *pr 3* is mentioned. No prescription is given.

Spell K (VIII/15-18): an enigmatic spell that begins with a reference to a *rhnt ikr* "the excellent ram," apparently a manifestation of a divinity who is to play an apotropaic role. The spell makes a passing reference to Horus and Seth and concludes with an address to a dead male and a short rubric that instructs that the spell be recited four times. Neither Psamtik nor *pr 3* is mentioned. No prescription is given.

Spell L (VIII/18-IX/5): begins with an address to Haroeris who is stated to be the one who causes the undoing of the inimical forces. The spell ends with a reference to Psamtik as the Bull of Heliopolis who causes the forces of evil to fall. Psamtik and *pr 3* are each mentioned once. No prescription or instructions are given.

Spell M (IX/5-7): a short spell reminiscent of texts normally addressed to scorpions and their poison. The term *pr 3* occurs once. No prescription or instructions are given.

Spell N (IX/7-XII/12): a long spell that begins with an extended invocation to a myriad of deities who are called upon to protect Psamtik. The spell states what cannot or will not be accomplished by the hostile force(s) who is then addressed. A long series of declarations affirms what he is attempting to accomplish, including direct statements of what he knows and has seen, replete with numerous mythological allusions, some familiar and some unknown. The agent of evil is once again told that it will not prevail. The name Psamtik occurs ten times and *pr 3* nine times. The spell concludes with a lengthy prescription and instructions for its application.

Spell O (XII/16-XIII/10): basically a parallel to Spell C; the beginning of the spell is different, however. The inimical forces are told not to come against "me". They are instructed that if they do, they actually are coming against the "Two Sons" and the "Two Ba's". The name Psamtik occurs twice and *pr 3* once. The spell concludes with a rubric containing a prescription that is to be applied to the ear.

Spell P (XIII/10-19): the spell focuses on the protection that a goddess called the "Great One" will provide. The name Psamtik occurs four times and *pr 3* once. The spell concludes with a lacunae-ridden rubric containing a prescription.

Spell Q (XIII, 19-XIV/8): a badly fragmented spell, only some words and phrases of which can be translated. *pr 3* occurs once and there is one lacuna where either the name Psamtik or *pr 3* needs to be restored.

There does not seem to be any pattern in the organization of these spells. They vary in length, and the contents of two adjacent spells are sometimes related and

sometimes not. The scribe uses the name Psamtik or the term *pr* '3 interchangeably, sometimes within a given spell. The Brooklyn text has all of the characteristics of a "compilation" text, one in which the scribe has seemingly attempted to gather all of the available material on a given topic.

TRANSLATION WITH COMMENTARY OF SPELL A

(COLUMN I, 1 - 20)

P. BROOKLYN 47.218.49

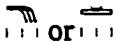
COLUMN I

1. [... c. 17 cm. ...] in the head^a
2. [... c. 17 cm. ...]^b
3. [... c. 17 cm. ...] spine^c
4. [... c. 16 cm. ...]^d [Psam]tik,^e l.p.h.
5. [... c. 17 cm. ...]^f [Psa]mtik
6. [... c. 17 cm. ...] [.De]p^g hn^h
7. [... c. 17 cm. ...] his(?)ⁱ hn^j
8. [... c. 17 cm. ...] spells^k
9. [... c. 18 cm. ...] wfr^l
10. [... c. 18 cm. ...] laudanum^m
11. [... c. 18 cm. ...] waterⁿ
12. [... c. 17 cm. ...] without d3...^o
13. [... c. 17 cm. ...the barque (?)] of Re who does^p
14. [Maat... c. 17 cm. ...] upon^q
15. [... c. 17 cm. ...] forms^r [...]
16. [... c. 17 cm. ...] Re. sm^s
17. [... c. 17 cm. ...] Wadjet ts...^t
18. [... c. 17 cm. ...] going forth
19. [... c. 17 cm. ...] their [...] towards
20. [... c. 17 cm. ...] spells (?) for^v

COMMENTARY I, 1 - 20

General Remarks: The lacunae in this column of the papyrus are considerable and preclude restoration except in a few instances. It remains unclear whether this column is the original first column of the text.

I/1, n. A. The sign ² in the word *tp* is written somewhat differently from the way it is elsewhere in the papyrus.

I/2, n. B. It is possible to read the group  or  at the end of the line; the latter; however, is not written like this elsewhere in the papyrus.

I/3, n. C. For , *psd*, "spine," see *Wb.* I 556, 1-9 which cites writings with the determinative .

I/4, n. D. Before the name Psamtik, the restoration of one of the following phrases is possible:  -   *m ii r msdr n] Psm̄k*: "Do not come against the ear of Psamtik;" or  -   *ir hh m msdr n] Psm̄k*: "...who make heat in the ear of Psamtik." Compare, for example, II/7 and VIII/10 where each of these phrases occurs, respectively.

I/4, n. E. This is the first occurrence of the name Psamtik in this text. His name appears twenty-four times in the extant portions of the papyrus. Psamtik is used interchangeably with *pr* ³, which occurs nineteen times.

I/5, n. F. For the restoration of the end of this lacuna, see I/4, n. D. above.

I/6, n. G. At the end of the line, the sign ⁴ or ⁵ can be seen.

I/6, n. H. Based on the writing , a word written *hn*[...] begins here, continuing into the next line.

I/7, n. I. The sign  probably represents the suffix pronoun *f* following a word, now lost, written with the knife-determinative  (Sign-list T30).

I/7, n. J. The signs  *hn* are the first signs of a word that continues onto the next line.

I/8, n. K. If  ȝhw refers to a spirit here, a usage often found in lists of malevolent beings in texts of protection, it is its only occurrence in the catalogues of evil-doers found in this papyrus. Possibly, the word is to be translated here as "protection" or "spells," although  rȝ: "spell" is the commonly employed term in this text.

I/9, n. L. The three signs  are written clearly enough here, but determining their relationship is problematic.  does not seem to be the suffix pronoun *f* modifying a word, now lost, written before the preposition *r*. If it were, the sign *f* would be written at the bottom of the line, the head preceding *r* and the tail hanging below, as it is elsewhere in the papyrus.

I/10, n. M. : *ib*, is possibly the beginning of  : *ibrt*: "laudanum," a word which occurs at III/14. See III/14, n. YY below for a discussion of this word.

I/11, n. N. For  as a Late Period writing of *mw*, "water," see *Wb.* II, 50, 7-9. The sign which precedes this group may be  b (Sign-list D58)

I/12, n. O. The group  might be the beginning of the word  : "male adversary" or   : "female adversary," both occurring frequently in this text. Note, however, that the phrase *nn d3* does not appear anywhere else in the text.

I/13, n. P. Before the writing   *n R*^c, the restoration of  *wi3* seems possible. The following word *iry* could then refer to the activity of the deity or being who belonging to "the barque of Re." Perhaps the phrase *iry m3t* or the like should be restored.

I/14, n. Q. The traces before  *hr* are possibly  *k3*, but the meaning of this group remains elusive. The word  could be the beginning of a prepositional phrase or a verbal construction.

I/15, n. R. The determinative  (Sign-list A53) commonly appears with the nouns   *hprw* "manifestation" or "form," given at *Wb.* III 265, 20-266, 17;   *irw*: "form," given at *Wb.* I 113, 8-114, 7; and   *twt*: "image," given at *Wb.* V 255, 8-256, 20. All of these terms occur later in the text.

I/16, n. S. For  *sm3* : "vereinigen," see *Wb.* III 446, 3-447, 13.

I/17, n. T. The sign after  is clearly to be understood as  . The two signs  that follow belong to a word written *ts*[...] beginning here and continuing into the next line.

I/18, n. U. The signs that precede   *pr*: "go" seem to be .

I/20, n. V. The rubric is somewhat faint here, but the signs at the end of the line seem to be   *s3w n* "...protection for..." The one problem with such a reading is that the oblique stroke following the sign  (Sign-list V17) is not a writing attested in the *Wörterbuch*. The presence of a rubric here very likely indicates the end of the present spell and/or the beginning of the next one. Rubrics are used in this text only for such purposes. Given the extensive lacunae and the varying length of spells in this papyrus, it is impossible to tell exactly how many spells were originally written at the beginning of the text.

TRANSLATION WITH COMMENTARY OF SPELL B

(COLUMNS I, 21 - II, 6)

P. BROOKLYN 47.218.49

COLUMN I

21. [... c. 17 cm. ...] the right ear^a of^b

22. [... c. 17 cm. ...] hail to^c you

COLUMN II

1. [... 9 cm. ...] face of (?)^d [... 9 cm. ...]

2. [... 8.5 cm. ...] Re.^e O one who makes^f [... 9 cm. ...]^g

3. raise (?) [... 7 cm. ...] rebuff^h *m3t3rh*... (?)ⁱ [... 4.5 cm. ...]^j

4. sack(?)^k opening^l the mouth [... 4.5 cm. ...] *mht*-bowl^m the name of Osiris while
you sayⁿ [... 4.5 cm. ...him.]^o

5. *Words to be recited over* [... 4 cm. ...]^p [plant-name]^q, excrement of a swine^r
fresh(?)^s 20 [... 4 cm. ...]

6. placed at the ear.^t

COMMENTARY

General Remarks: The lacunae are extensive and preclude any restoration. It is possible that words at the beginning of the text called Spell B really belong to the preceding Spell A. See I/20, n. V.

I/21, n. A. The qualifying of the word ^l*msdr* with the adjective *wnm* is the only occurrence in the text in which the ear is distinguished as "right" or "left." *pEbers* 100, 3 (*Eb* 854f) distinguishes the two ears, the right ear being the one through which "the breath of life" enters, the left through which the "breath of death" enters. In Egyptian religious texts, "right" is generally associated with good and "left" with evil; see the remarks of J. Borghouts at *pLeiden I* 348 70-71, n.106.

In VIII/13, fire is said to come forth on the left side of Isis and of Nephthys; in VIII/18 there is also a reference to branding or burning on the left side.

I/21, n. B. The group is a writing of *wnm n.*

I/22, n. C. The traces suggest before the group The addition of the sign (Sign-list G7) after the group indicates that it is deities who are invoked in the phrase "Hail to you..." See, for example, *pChester Beatty I* 2, 1 for a similar writing.

II/1, n. D. Damage to the upper portion of the papyrus has left only the signs *hr n:* "face of" at the center of this line. The damage is too extensive to allow a determination of whether this is the first line of the column or not.

II/2, n. E. The traces of the sign preceding the determinative likely indicate a writing of *, the name "Re" or , that of "Osiris."*

II/2, n. F. The group is the writing of the vocative indicator *i* routinely encountered in this text. A dot is normally written above the vertical stroke, the two representing the sign (Sign-list A2) in this text.

II/2, n. G. A few scant traces can be seen at the bottom of the break at the end of the line point to a restoration of .

II/3, n. H. is a variant writing of *gnf*, for which see *Wb.* V, 174/9-11: "abweisen." The word does not occur elsewhere in this papyrus.

II/3, n. I. The hieratic here presents difficulty. The first three signs are clearly written though their relationship is problematic. Given the fact that the bisyllable *m3* is generally written in hieratic with the sign , one possible solution is to understand the first sign as the preposition *m* governing whatever word follows. The *Wörterbuch*, however, gives no word with the spellings nor does it give a writing of any word in which the sign (Sign-list G47) is to be read as *t*.

Another possibility is that the sign  is the first sign of a word *m3t3*, although the *Wörterbuch* lists no such word, nor does it give a writing of *m3t* where the sign  is to be read as *t*. The problem is further compounded by the signs that follow.  is very possibly a writing of the verb *rh*: "to know;" the expected determinative  may be found written underneath where there is a small hole but visible traces of a small sign. The hieratic group that follows is possibly a writing of  or . I can not make a good argument for either. Regardless, these signs taken together or as the writing of individual words yield no apparent sense.

The supra linear sign  may shed some light on the problem. The sign is used as a gloss in Greek and Demotic magical texts and hieratic texts as well. H.J. Thissen, *Religion und Philosophie* 299-300, discusses the various readings and meanings that have been assigned to it, namely *h3*: "O," *ii tw*: "Welcome," or *i3w*: "Greetings." He states that the sign is an indicator of direct address commonly occurring with "magical names" that are written phonetically and that are to be pronounced as they appear. On such writings, see, for example, J.H. Johnson, *Enchoria* 7 (1977) 55-57 and 87-97; *pBoulaq* 6 24 n.r. discusses the writing *hr3g3n3* as the name of a foreign deity or as the magical name of a disease-demon. Names such as these appear in the Book of the Dead as well. The presence of the gloss here may indicate that the problematic group of signs, or at least some of them, represent the writing of such a magical name. The lacunae in the text here make it difficult to determine exactly what the case may be.

II/3, n. J. The traces at the end of the line suit . See II/4, n. K following.

II/4, n. K. The sign  (Sign-list V19) appears to be the determinative of the last word written in the preceding line. If the traces at the end of the preceding line are the vestiges of , perhaps we have the word         *h3r*: "sack," for which see *Wb.* III 363, 1-2.

II/4, n. L. The sign  written with the phonetic complements  and  is followed by , the whole group reading *wb3 r3* and suggesting the phrase "opening of the mouth." It is unlikely, however, that this phrase refers to the well known ritual of the Opening of the Mouth. It seems more likely that it is a description of the patient or of one of the inimical beings assailing him.

II/4, n. M. The group   *mht* is *Wb.* II 126, 12-15, "Schale, Napf." The word appears again in this papyrus at XII/11. The *mht*-vase is also known from *pEbers* at 4, 6 (*Eb* 13); 18, 1 (*Eb* 57); 53, 7 (*Eb* 308); and 93, 16 (*Eb* 788); and *pLeiden I* 348, rt. 13, 2 and vs. 11, 8. Such a vase served a specific purpose in medical and protection texts. Spells were written on it, thereby endowing whatever liquid was poured into it with magical power. The empowered liquid was then drunk by the patient as a curative. On this belief and practice, see J.F. Borghouts, *pLeiden I* 348 132, n. 304 and 173, n. 420, and the general discussion on "swallowing" by R. K. Ritner, *Mechanics* 102-110. Both authors discuss a vase in Cairo (CG 18490) inscribed with the so-called B-text of the Metternich Stela, a standard protection text; the Cairo vase has a *cippus* carved directly onto its side. It is significant and noteworthy that that vase is inscribed with the name of Psamtik I. See additionally *pSalt* 825 20*, Fig. 19a which shows an inscription         *n hd hr r mht* "a head of garlic (drawn?) upon a *mht*-dish," written above a circle in which there is a cryptographic inscription.

II/4, n. N. The traces after *iw* suggest : *dd* "to say" or possibly the verb *ir*: "to do."

II/4, n. O. The traces at the end of the line suit . The first sign is probably the suffix pronoun subject of a verb now lost. The word *sw* would likely be the object.

II/5, n. P. The rubric at the beginning of the line marks the end of a spell and the beginning of its prescription and directives. As is the common practice in this text, only the first few words of the prescription and its directives are written in red. The prescription then continues in black ink. The new spell begins with the phrase *ky r3* that can be seen written in red ink in line II/6.

II/5, n. Q. represent the final signs of a word indicating the name of a plant. A possible restoration is *g3yt*, which occurs at V/6 below. *g3yt* is discussed by *WbDN* 533-537. Other possibilities include *s3wyt*, an unidentified plant discussed by *WbDN* 475-476; *sbityt*, also an unidentified plant, for which see *WbDN* 435; *s3y.t*: another unidentified plant, discussed at *WbDN* 421; and finally *h3sy.t*, *Bryonia dioica*, discussed at *WbDN* 391-393

II/5, n. R. *hs*: "excrement" is a common ingredient in the prescriptions of medical texts where the word is invariably qualified by the name of a specific animal. Here, it is *hs s3iw*: "excrement of a pig," an ingredient that appears in *pmedBerlin* 6, 4 (*Bln* 64) in conjunction with *hs '3*, "excrement of an ass; the term occurs as well in *pEbers* 83, 4 (*Eb* 663) and *pTurin* 1993, vs. 7, 6-10, 1. Another possible occurrence of the term *hs s3iw* occurs at *pLeiden I* 343+345 rt. 1, 3 and vs. 2, 9 where the damaged phrase *s3iw hn^c hs* "...] of pigs (and) feces of [pigs (?)...]" appears. The ingredient *hs mi3*: "excrement of a cat" is used in a prescription in

pLeiden I 348 r. 1, 4. The occurrence of pigs in magical and medical texts likely stems from their Sethian nature. On the connections between pigs and the god Seth, see H. te Velde, *Seth* 22; see also J. Yoyotte, *EPHE* V^e 89 (1980-81) 52, on these connections.; S. Sauneron, *pIllustré* 4, 1 and pp. 7-8, discusses the positive and negative associations of pork.

II/5, n. S. The sign ⳩ that appears after ⳩*biw* seems to be a writing of the adjective *rwd*, modifying ⳩*biw* yielding the meaning "firm pig" or modifying *hs ⳩*biw**: "fresh excrement of a pig," taking the adjective *rwd* modifying the whole group *hs ⳩*biw**. The word occurs with the similar meaning "fresh" at *pmedBerlin* 13, 6 (*Bln* 154). If the sign ⳩ is not the adjective *rwd* but the beginning of another ingredient, *WbDN* 323 knows only a *hapax legomenon* ⳩[°]_{..}, found at *pEbers* 90, 11 (*Eb* 758). It is unlikely that the sign ⳩ represents the noun meaning "sinew." That noun is written with the determinative ♀, as it appears at VIII/16 below. The hieratic sign that follows appears to be the cardinal number 20, for which, see, for example, *pmedBerlin* 1, 4 (*Bln* 5).

II/6, n. T. The traces at the beginning of the next line are probably the vestiges of ⳩[—]: *diw r* "placed at." The prescription likely concluded with *diw r msdr*: "...placed at the ear," an instruction commonly encountered at the end of spells in this text. See, for example, V/11; VIII/6; and XIII/10 below.

TRANSLATION WITH COMMENTARY OF SPELL C

(COLUMN II, 6 - 18)

P. BROOKLYN 47.218.49

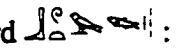
6. ... *Another spell.*^a Back, you [... 4 cm. ... abom]inations (?),^b everything that he says^c against the ear of Pharaoh^d [... 4.5 cm. ...]
7. Do not come against his ear.^e Hear [the words of Re in]^f the eastern horizon of heaven!^g He has said^h [You shall not ... him. He is Ptah]ⁱ
8. on this day. One shall not make war in^j [this ear of his, in this temple of his, in this]^k heart of his, in all these limbs of his, [because he is the skin^l
9. that comes forth from (?) the body of [Osiris, the horns]^m on him are those ofⁿ Khenty-Khem,^o [the hair upon]^p
10. the top of his head [is Horus, son of Isis].^q His ears are within the S[ound Eye].^r
Hear the]^s
11. words of Re every day^t with[in the eastern horizon of heaven!]^u O^v enemy,^w fiend,^x dead male, dead female,^y male adversary, female advers[ary, and so on who does]^z
12. [this sickness]^{aa} against the Pharaoh, filled with [blood, immersed]^{bb} in his red-blood,^{cc} smeared^{dd} with the red (blood)^{ee}of [a young]^{ff}
13. [woman].^{gg} He has done his enmity^{hh} against Pharaoh [... 2.5 cm. ...].ⁱⁱ He who comes to him in his bones [...],ⁱⁱ he who feeds on his head,^{kk} [he who chews on his limbs],^{ll}
14. [he has done]^{mm} the abomination of Re.ⁿⁿ He has placed [the *atef*-crown]^{oo} from before (?).^{pp} He has terrorized^{qq} the gods who [are in their mounds]^{rr}
15. [...]ss. The gods [who were their predecessors]^{tt} hide from (?) him when they see him.^{uu} Fall back! With[draw! Pass by!],^{vv}

16. (O) one who does evil!^{ww} Do not assai^{xx} him! [Do not come against him! He is]^{yy}
 Horus, son of Isis. A protection behind a protection, there comes a protection!^{zz}
[Words to be recited over the blood]^{AB}
17. [of the ear of] a bat^{cc} [the feather]^{AD} of a phoenix, the head of a vulture^{AE} brought
 to a boil^{AF} with [...]^{AG}

COMMENTARY II, 6 - 18

General Remarks: The restoration of much of the text of this spell is based on the close, although not exact, parallel found in Spell O: XII/16-XIII/10 below. It is unclear whether the two are different versions of one spell, or that each represents a stemma of a textual archetype, one of which is corrupt. The similarities and differences in the two passages are discussed in the commentary. The alignment of the text of the two fragments is based both on the alignment of the light colored band of papyrus that runs across both fragments and on the orientation of the elliptical damage pattern that occurs on the lower half of each fragment.

II/6, n. A. *k[y] r3* marks the beginning of a new spell. The sign  is a commonly encountered abbreviation of the word *ky*, "another" in hieratic texts.

II/6, n. B. At the end of the lacuna, I have tentatively restored the word  : *bwt* "abominations" or "taboos." Although the word *bwt* "abomination" or "taboo" can be written with the determinative , the oblique stroke at the end of the word is hard to explain, as it does not ordinarily occur in the writing of this word. It is the presence of the sign  (Sign-list K3) that makes such a reading attractive.

II/6, n. C. The writing  *dd.f nb* "everything he says" with  written above the sign  rather than below the group  is due to the scribe's eye for economy of

space and his desire to avoid writing the tail of the sign  so that it projected below the line.

II/6, n. D. The hieratic traces at the edge of this fragment better suit the reading of

 *pr 3:* "Pharaoh" than of  *psmtk:* "Psamtik."

II/7, n. E. I have taken the sign  *m* as the negative imperative, although it is possible that *m* is a preposition and that the translation should be "...by coming against his ear." The reading adopted here seems preferable, as the parallels found in the less damaged parts of the papyrus suggest. The idea of inimical forces coming against the ear of the Pharaoh occurs repeatedly throughout this text. The parallels from other sources are numerous, although no other text that I know of seems solely dedicated to this *topos*. On the idea of dangerous and hostile forces entering through the ear, see R. Ritner, *Mechanics*, 89, n. 425 where he cites references to the idea that the breaths of life and of death enter the body through the ears and circulate with the blood.

II/7, n. F. Beginning here, the text occupying the rest of column II closely parallels the text beginning at XII/19 and ending at XIII/9. The instances where the texts differ are discussed in the notes. The group  *mdwt n R^c m:* "...the words of Re in..." is restored based on its occurrence in a similar phrase at XII/19 and XIII/3. The space in the lacuna also suits this writing. The phrase *sdm mdw* is very common in protection texts, addressed to the agents of disease and often followed by an enumeration of the dire consequences that will befall them if they do not listen. For parallels, see the following:

- a.) *pGeneva MAH 15274* vs. 5, 2: *'h^r sdm mdw:* "Stop! Hear the word."
addressed to a scorpion.

- b.) *pLeiden I* 346 3, 5: *h3.i r sdm mdwt ntrw*: "Get behind me to hear the word of the gods!" addressed apparently to the speaker's *ka*.
- c.) *pBoulaq* 6 rt. 8, 5-6: *im sdm.ti mdt dd.ti imn*: "Hear the word which Amun is saying" addressed to Horus.
- d.) *pBoulaq* 6 rt. 10, 4 and rt. 11, 1: *'h im sdm mdt p3 ntr*: "Stop! Hear the word of this god!" addressed to beings acting in an irreverent manner.
- e.) *pTurin* 1993 vs. 6, 5: *sdm mdt*: "Hear the word."
- f.) *pLeiden I* 343+345 rt. 7, 1: *sdm hrw sth*: "Hear the voice of Seth!"
- g.) *pLeiden I* 343+345 vs. 17, 2: *k3 sdm.k n3 n mdw i..*: "You will hear the words, O [...]", likely addressed to a string of malevolent forces.

II/7, n. G. The parallel text at XII/19 continues with the phrase  *hrw nb* "every day."

II/7, n. H. The parallel text does not have the phrase *dd n.f*. This phrase can be either an imperative, translated as "Say to him...", or a *sdm.n.f* form, as I have taken it here, introducing what Re has said. The lacuna precludes determining which construction was intended.

II/7, n. I. The lacuna at the end of this line contains the beginning of an address by Re. The phrase  *nif pth* "he is Ptah" can be restored based on the parallel found at XII/19, although the hieratic sign at the beginning of the next line appears to be a writing of  . Unfortunately, the verb employed in the parallel is missing as well; in addition, the two versions are different at this point in the spell. Nonetheless, the context requires some phrase like ["One shall not come against him. He is Ptah] on this day." See the discussions at XII/19, n. T and n. U below.

II/8, n. J. The hieratic group here seems to be a writing of the verb : *hsf*, while the parallel at XII/19 has : *shm* "prevail over; gain power." Since the idea of *not* gaining power seems warranted here, I am reading *hsf* with the meaning "jems. bekriegen," given at *Wb.* III, 335, 19.

II/8, n. K. After *nn hsf.tw m*, I have restored [msdr.fpn m m3r.f m] "in [this ear of his, in this temple of his, in] this heart of his", based on the parallel at XII, 19-XIII, 1 and the available space. In this text, the word *ib* is often listed in conjunction with the word *h3ty*. *ib* usually appears first, followed either immediately or somewhat latter by the term *h3ty*. The majority of scholars see little, if any, difference between the two terms *ib* and *h3ty* in their use and application in the medical and religious literature. A.H. Gardiner, *AEO* II 250*-252*, concludes that there is no difference as does *WbMT* 40-42. Cf., however, M. Malaise, *Les Scarabées* 9, n. 3 and the works cited there who states that these terms ultimately represent our concept of "bosom" as it appears in Victorian literature, an odd and somewhat tenuous claim.

II/8, n. L. The restoration of the text at the end of the line is hampered somewhat by damage occurring to the parallel passage at XIII/1 as well. The partial reconstruction of *hr-[ntt ntf i]nm*: "be[cause he is the skjin" or "because the skin belongs to him..." adopted here is based on the parallel that continues at the beginning of XIII, 2 and the signs at the beginning of II/9. On the skin of Osiris, *FECT* 106 (*CT* II, 116) has the statement: "I have removed the injury from the skin of Osiris."

II/9, n. M. The present passage differs from that of the parallel. The text here has *pr m h3w [...]*: "that comes forth from the limbs [...]; the parallel text at XIII, 1-2 has *pr m Wsir*: "that comes forth from Osiris." There is room to restore

—𢃠—*n Wsir* ‘bw after *pr m h̄w*, giving "...that comes forth from the limbs [of Osiris, horns]...", a restoration that would follow the general sense if not the exact wording of the parallel. On the problems concerning the meaning of the preposition *m* here, see the discussion that follows.

Lists of body parts and their connections with various deities are common in this genre of texts. The basic study of such lists is A. Massart, "A propos des 'listes' dans les textes funéraires et magiques," *Analectica Biblica. Studia Biblica et Orientalia III. Oriens Antiquus* (1959) 227-246. See also R.K. Ritner, *Mechanics* 40 n. 181 for additional relevant bibliography. A major obstacle to understanding the present passage, however, is that the associations of a specific body part with a specific deity in *pBrooklyn* 47.218.49 are completely unlike those found in any other source. Several different prepositions are used before the name of the deity, thus creating some question about the relationship of the anatomical part and the name of each deity that follows. A comparable passage in *pBudapest* 51.1961 3, 5 gives a list of body parts, each associated with a specific deity. In *pLeiden I* 348 rt. 5, 4-6, 2, a list of parts of the body and their connections with specific deities, the body part is always introduced by *iw* and the name or epithet of the god by the preposition *m*. The same construction is found in *BD* 42.

It is possible, however, that the idea here reflects, in an abbreviated form, another type of statement found commonly in protection texts. Such statements claim that a part of the body is said to be under the protection of a specific deity. In the Leiden text cited above, a string of such statements immediately precedes the section that has given *iw* + body part + *m* + name of deity. The different prepositions used in the Brooklyn text may point to the fact

that the anatomical parts of the Pharaoh are here stated to have *come from* an individual deity, and not that each part is associated with a god. Each prepositional phrase above would then be construed with the verb *pr* that occurs just once at the beginning of the passage. It is worth noting that in this passage and in its parallel below in Spell O, all of the body parts are associated with some form of Horus except one that is associated with Osiris.

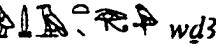
II/9, n. N. The text has *n* here as does its parallel at XIII/2; thus, the translation "those of..." seems warranted.

II/9, n. O. After  , restore  based on the parallel at XIII, 2. The whole group    *hm* represents a later writing of the name of the town Letopolis which replaces the earlier writing    *hm*. The writing    is also found in Late Period texts as a writing of the word    *shm* "sanctuary;" see, for example, J.-C. Goyon, *BIFAO* 75 (1975) 393, l.6. The epithet *hnty-hm*, "Foremost One of Letopolis," is used of a manifestation of Horus known as *hr hnty irty* or *hr mhnty irty*, the chief god of Letopolis. Originally a falcon-headed god, he later became associated with Horus in the Old Kingdom. On the connections between Horus and Letopolis, see H. Junker, *Der Gott* passim, and especially 45-58. This manifestation of Horus is attested early in religious literature; see, for example *FECT* 50 (*CT I*, 124), 322 (*CT IV*, 148), and 335 (*CT IV*, 300). He occurs as well in *BD* 17 and 78 where he plays an apotropaic role. He is also associated with healing, for which function see W. Spiegelberg, *ZÄS* 57 (1922) 70-71. The manifestation of Horus associated with Letopolis appears often in later religious texts as well. *pLeiden I* 346 II, 9-10 states that *hnty-hm* is Horus the Elder. The names *hr mhnty irty* and *hr hnty-hm* both occur in *pChester Beatty IX* vs.B. 7, 2-3 in an address to Horus in his manifest forms. The epithet *hnty-hm*, also referring

to the god *hnty-irty*, occurs in *pLeiden I* 343+345 vs. 23. For further references to the name *hr-hnty irty*, see *pLouvre I* 3079 152, 8; *Djed-Hor* § 6 pp. 29 and 34, n.1; and finally, *pLeiden 348 I* rt. 8, 8, where *hnty-hm* appears as the deity who has cut off the heads of the speckled snakes and has, in turn, restored them. He then revives the gods and puts their heads back on as well.

II/9, n. P. At the end of the lacuna, restore  *snw*: "hair," *Wb.* IV 499, 9-501, 3. It should be noted, however, that the parallel at XIII/2 requires only 3 cm. to write this group of signs and that the lacuna here is 3.5 cm.

II/10, n. Q. After *hr n tp* restore  :[*fm hr s3 3st*], the whole yielding "...on the top of.[his] head [is from Horus, son of Isis."], following the parallel at XIII/2. The space available here equals that of the parallel.

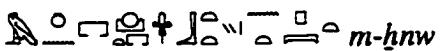
II/10, n. R. The restoration of  *wd3t* is possible after *m hnw* based on the parallel at XIII/2-3; it should be noted, however, that at XIII/2 *wd3t* is written without the sign . The writing  for  occurs early; the writing of  for *hnw* is already the characteristic orthography by D. XXI, according to Y. Koenig, *pBoulaq 6* 42, n.e.

The idea of protection within the Sound Eye is supported by several parallels. *pmagHarris* 7, 8-9: *hms.i m-hnw wd3t it.f.* "I sit within the Sound Eye of his (sic) father." *FECT* 107 (*CT II*, 119) and 110 (*CT II*, 124) both have the statement: "I am Horus within his Eye." *BD* 42 gives *ink imy wd3t*, "I am one who is within the Sound Eye." *BD* 15 has: "The Eye of Horus has encompassed you; you are hidden deep within it; it casts its magical protection about your flesh." In all of these texts, the emphasis is on *wd3t* as a place of protection. *pmedLondon* 7, 3-4 (L 22) has "...noble one who is in the Eye of Horus." Note that in the present text, it is the *ears* that are said to be "within the Sound Eye."

II/10, n. S. At the end of this line and the beginning of the next, restore  sdm

mdw: "Hear the words...", following the parallel at XIII/3. The space available at the end of this line suits the required signs nicely. On this phrase, see the discussion at II/7, n. F above.

II/11, n. T. The parallel at XIII/3 does not include the phrase *hrw nb* "every day," yet the parallel at XII/19 does. It is interesting to note that the god Re must repeat his warnings daily, one more indicator of the idea that the cosmic battle is fought on a day by day basis.

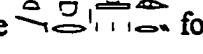
II/11, n. U. The restoration here should probably be  *m-hnw* *3ht i3bt nt pt* "...within the eastern horizon of heaven." The parallel at XIII/3 has simply *m* while the traces in the text here seem to indicate *m hnw*.

II/11, n. V. The text has  , most likely an error for  , the vocative indicator and the writing which appears in the parallel at XIII/3. For a similar parallel to a direct address to disease-demons following the imperative *sdm mdw*, see *pLeiden I* 343+345 rt. 11, 8-10 (= vs. 17, 2). Both of those passages are somewhat lacuna-ridden, but the word  clearly follows *k3 sdm.k n3 n mdw* in the verso text.

II/11, n. W. Lists of malevolent beings in texts dealing with protection and medicine are too common to enumerate here. In both genres, as well as in others like the Execration Texts, these beings are seen as the agents of the evil or the affliction from which the individual is suffering or by which he is threatened. They are not the evil or the disease itself. For successful treatment of the patient, neutralizing or destroying the agents was considered as important as treating the disease through a medicant applied to the anatomical part affected. See the discussion at pp. 31-40 above.

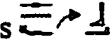
II/11, n. X. The word  *pfy* is usually translated in lists of this sort as "fiend." Citing a number of texts from the New Kingdom and later, J. Borghouts, *pLeiden I* 348 54, n. 50 has suggested that *pfy* was originally nothing other than the demonstrative pronoun. The best evidence for his interpretation, however, not cited by him, is supplied by the Middle Kingdom text *pRamesseum C* vs.II, 8-9 where the term  *hft*: "enemy" is followed directly by  written without any determinative. The same text has  at vs.I, 7, making Borghouts's interpretation quite certain, even for texts dating to earlier than the New Kingdom. Y. Koenig *RdE* 33 (1981) 30, n. b., states that the writing *pft* seems to be the feminine equivalent of *hfty*, a remark repeated in his *pBoulaq 6* 49 (c). He bases his remarks on an observation already made by A.H. Gardiner, *pChesterBeatty II-IX*, I 125 n. 2. Koenig does not note, however, any distinction between *pfy* and *pft*. J.-C. Goyon, *Cérémonial* 113, n. 38, states that *pfy* is simply a euphemism for Seth, used in order to avoid pronouncing his name.

II/11, n. Y. Dead males and females, functioning as agents of evil, appear commonly as early as the Execration Texts and the Coffin Texts; see, for example, *FECT* 23 (*CT* I, 72); for their occurrence in a text, also dating prior to the New Kingdom, see *pEdwin Smith* 470 and 472. The basic study on the Egyptians' fear of the dead is still that of G. Posener, *MDAIK* 16 (1958) 252-270; see also W. Spiegelberg, *ZÄS* 65, 121; D. Meeks, *Genies* 80 n. 191 and n.192; and finally Y. Koenig, *pBoulaq 6* 49, n.d with references.

II/11, n. Z. At the end of this line, restore  following the parallel at XIII/4. The phrase  *hmt r3* is very common in medical and protection texts. Originally, the term seems to have meant "skill of the mouth" or more simply "spells." A. Erman, *MuK* 2, 6, provides a good example of the latter meaning

where the heading of a spell is written $\ddagger \sqcap$. Its meaning "and so on" has been discussed a number of times, notably by A.H. Gardiner, *JEA* 38 (1952) 26, n. 2; *idem*, *pRamesseum* 10 n. 4; J.F. Borghouts, *pLeiden I* 348 55, n. 51; and recently R.K. Ritner, *Mechanics* 43, n. 195.

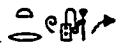
II/12, n. AA. In the small lacuna at the beginning of the line, restore  mr:
"sickness" following the parallel at XIII/4. The same phrase used as an epithet of
a disease-demon occurs at *pLeiden I* 348 rt. 6, 4-5.

II/12, n. BB. The conjectured restoration for the lacuna is  following the parallel text at XIII/4. Note, however, that the parallel there has  in place of . *Wb.* I 447, 1-4 gives a verb  *b'b'* meaning "trinken." The word appears in a number of texts where it has been variably translated "se plonger," "wade," "bathe." These translations are discussed by W. Ward, *SAK* 5 (1977) 274-278. He traces the etymology of both *b'b'* and *b3b3* and argues for the basic meaning "bathe" for the former. Given the occurrence of *b'b'* in the present passage followed by the preposition *m*, Ward's conclusions about its meaning make sense here: "bathed in blood" = "*immersed in* blood;" the phrase would parallel the following *gs m trw*: "smeared with red-(blood)." References to beings immersed in blood, from gods to demons, are numerous. *PT* 854a gives an epithet of Re as "the *ba* who is in his red-blood;" *FECT* 226 (*CT* III, 258) has "the ram who is in his blood ... who is in his redness;" see further *FECT* 335 (*CT* IV, 270), listing a demon named *dšrty*, "Bloody One," literally, "The Red One;" the same deity is also found in *pLeiden* I 347 4, 7. *FECT* 226 (*CT* III, 258) has the reference: "...the ram who is in his blood (*dšrw*) has given you what is in his redness (*dšrw*).". In a passage from *BD* 134, one of the texts cited by Ward, T.G. Allen translates the phrase *w'b.f m snf.tn b'b'.f dšrw.tn*: "He purifies (*w'b*)himself

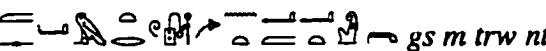
with your blood, he drinks (*b'b*) of your red-blood, (attackers male or female who may attack Osiris N in the bark of his Father Re.)" In his study of the word *b'b*, Ward cites the same passage and gives the translation of the same phrase: "He washes (*w'b*) in your blood, he *bathes* (*b'b*) in your red-blood." It is worth noting that Budge, *The Book of the Dead* 509, had already anticipated Ward in translating the same phrase "...shall wash himself clean in your blood, and he shall bathe in your gore ..." *The Book of Caverns* VI 39; Pl. 135 (7) P lists beings described as "the blood-covered ones." A. Massart, *pLeiden I* 343+345 62 n.25, cites an Ugaritic poem in which the goddess Anat is described as one whose "...knees she plunges in the blood of soldiery, thighs in the gore of troops." See also Y. Koenig, *pBoulaq 6* 120 n.d with references to beings who are "in their blood". Cf., however, J.-C. Goyon, *Les dieux-gardiens* 275, n. 4 and 364, n. 5 who, for the verb *b'b*, persists in following the meaning "trinken" as given by the *Wörterbuch*.

II/12, n. CC. The lacuna here offers enough space for $\overline{\text{--}}$ after $\overline{\text{--}}$. For *dšrt*, *Wb.* V 491, 10-13 gives "das Blut." *FECT* 75 (*CT I*, 378-383) provides something of a parallel: "I have quieted her who is in the midst of her rage," a reference to a malevolent being as well. Faulkner's translation "in the midst of her rage" for the phrase *hry-ib dšrw* seems to miss the point. The translation "in the midst of (her) red blood" is preferable.

II/12, n. DD. For the writing $\overline{\text{--}}^{\text{b}}$, *gs*, *Wb.* V 201,12-202,13 offers a verb "salben." The word *gs* occurs a number of times in the prescriptions of this text as a technical term for their application. The present context requires a less technical meaning and perhaps one that is more graphic; hence, the translation "smear" is preferable.

II/12, n. EE. The word  *trw* is that given by *Wb.* V 386, 13 giving only *trw*, "das Rote als Bez. für das Blut." The word appears in *pLeiden I 343+345*, vs. 23. The different context there indicates that the agent that carries disease is firmly entrenched in the patient. *WbDN 567* cites the *Wb.* Entry, also giving only the writing *trw*, stating that *trw* was originally a mineral of some sort.

II/12, n. FF. At the end of the line, there is a lacuna of 3 cm., followed by a gap of approximately 2 cm. at the beginning of the next line. See II/13, n. HH following.

II/13, n. GG. The parallel at XIII/5 has  'm^ct: "...smeared with the blood of a young woman." In the present passage, the traces following the sign  do not suit  which appears in the parallel text below. The restoration given here must be seen as provisional as the two parallel texts display a number of variants in this section. It should be noted that the 5.5 cm. required to fit *trw nt* 'm^ct exist at the end of II/12; the hieratic traces, probably the first sign of the word that begins the present line do not readily suggest anything, given the lacuna that immediately follows. For the word  'm^ct, see *Wb.* I 285, 15-16: "als Bez. für Frauen, deren Urin in der medizin und im Zauber gebraucht wird." *WbDN 91* gives the meaning "Jungfrau," citing the same usage. See also XIII/5, n. FF below.

II/13, n. HH. The hieratic traces here suit the reading  *ir.n.f:* "he has done..." The present passage has *iw ir.n.f bw fr pr* '3: "he has done his enmity against Pharaoh." The parallel reading at XIII/5, however, has the preposition *m* after *ir.n.f*; in addition, *bw* is qualified there with *ntrw*, not with *f* as it is here. Thus, the parallel seems to read "...what he has done with the enmity of the gods..." or more simply "...what he has done, namely, the enmity of the gods..." reading *m*

there as the *m* of predication. For  *bt*, *Wb.* I 174, 13-19 provides a range of meanings which, for the most part, focus on impurity. The word is written with the  determinative in *pCairo 58027* 2, 3; 3, 1; see further *pKölner 3547* 1, 4 where it is written  and whose editors offer the translation "Unheil." See Y. Koenig, *RdE* 33(1981) 34, who translates the word in a passage from *pTurin 1993* 1, 3 as "impureté," the explanation for which is given at 33 n.g; see ibid., *pBoulaq 6* rt. 5, 2 and 54, n. d., where it is again translated as "impureté" as the context there demands; and finally I.E.S. Edwards, *Oracular Decrees* 14, n. 12. who gives the translation "sickness."

The word clearly has negative associations in the present passage, yet "impurity" seems too limiting a definition. Given the context, "enmity" or "danger" comes closer to the desired meaning. For *'bw* denoting "enmity" or "to do enmity," see S. Sauneron, *pIllustré* 2, 5, 2, 6 and p. 22, n. r. Note, however, that in that text at 5, 2 the word *'bw* is also translated as "horn," the explanation for which is given there at 27, n. hh. Two passages from the Dendara temple offer some insight into the meaning "horn" for this term. In both, Isis addresses the king: *di.i n.k i'rrt.t. (sic) m h't.k hr wd 'b.s r hftiw.k:* "I give to you your (?) uraeus on your forehead while ordering its horn/enmity against your enemies;" and *di.i 'b.t bin r hftiw nbw....:* "I give your evil horn/enmity against all the enemies of...." For those texts, see *Dendara* I 151, 9 and *Dendara* VIII 56, 2-3, respectively. Another possible parallel may be found in a prayer to Amun from a Theban statue of the Twenty-second Dynasty (CG 42208). The owner, having asked the god Amun to protect his daughter from anyone who would try to take from her the property left her in his will, then says to the god: *k3 'h3.k r 'h3 r.sn m ht wd.k \$sr.k sdb.k r.sn r sh 'nh.sn n sfh 'b.b im.w n dt:* "Then you shall fight to

fight against them afterwards. You shall send your arrows, your evil against them, to destroy their lives without loosening your horn/enmity from them forever." For this text, see Jansen-Winckeln, *ÄAT* 8, 455, ll. 16-17 and p. 48 where he translates the word 'b as "Horn." A further problem in the present passage is the apparent mixture of *sdm.f* and *sdm.n.f* forms. The lacunae in these fragmentary columns make it difficult to establish the relationship between clauses. See II/14, n. PP below.

II/13, n. II. The lacuna after *r pr* 3 can be partially restored with *dd.f*, the verb phrase that occurs in the parallel, but such a restoration requires less than 2 cm. I can offer no suggestions for what would then follow.

II/13, n. JJ. The present passage has the verbal group *sb n.f*, either a participle with a dative or a *sdm.n.f* form. The parallel at XIII/5 has a completely different verb *shrw.f*, one that is clearly a *sdm.f* form.

II/13, n. KK. For the word *tbn*: "head, "see *Wb.* V 261, 12-14.

II/13, n. LL. The restoration of *ws f m h w.f*: "he who chews on his limbs..." is based on the parallel at XIII/5 and the traces of the group at the end of II/13 and of the sign at the beginning of II/14. For *ws*, *Wb.* I 370, 6-13 gives the meaning "etw. kauen; etw. zerbeissen." For parallels to the inimical forces feeding on the unsuspecting or the sick, see *pmagHarris* 10, 3-4: *nty wnm.w m iwf swri.w m snf* "those who feed on flesh and drink from blood"; see also *pLeiden I* 343+345 vs. 4, 9 for the phrase *ws t ksw* "chewer on bones" as an epithet of the disease or disease-demon *hw*; and finally *BD* 1B which gives the name of one of the snakes in Rosetau as "He who devours bones."

II/14, n. MM. The beginning of the line can be restored as based on the traces.

II/14, n. NN. The word  *bwt* occurs commonly in religious texts embodying the idea "taboo" or "abomination," with the implication of religious or ritual impurity; see P. Frandsen *BSAK* 3 (1988) 151-158; J.H. Breasted, *pEdwin Smith* 18, 17 and 20, 9, where the patient claims that he is an "abomination," and p. 479 there where it is noted that "the protection consists in becoming something abhorred which the spirits dare not approach."

There is a general difficulty in the present passage in determining how the various phrases and clauses fit together and to whom the pronoun subjects refer. It is unclear whether the phrase [*ir.n.f*] *bwt n R^c*: "he has done the abomination of Re" refers to what precedes or to what follows. If it continues a preceding idea, then this section of the text states that whoever violates the body of the Pharaoh is doing the "abomination of Re" by such an action. Alternatively, there could be a shift in the subject; in that case, it would be the Pharaoh who does the "abomination of Re" in order to ward off the evil spirits. See II/14, n. OO following.

II/14, n. OO. The traces clearly indicate the writing of  *3tf*: "atef-crown." The meaning of this sentence is obscure. If the subject of *rdi.n.f* is different from that of *ir.n.f bwt n R^c*, we should understand that the abomination of Re in the present passage refers to the act of assailing the Pharaoh; then, it is quite likely that the pronoun *f* in the phrase *rdi.n.f* refers to the Pharaoh, who attempts to dispel the inimical forces through the reenactment of a mythological incident wherein the putting on of the *atef*-crown has struck fear into the hearts of the gods. Worn by Re, Osiris, Horus and the King, the *atef*-crown is understood as the visible manifestation of Re's power on earth, especially the power to strike fear in the hearts of others. The act of putting on the *atef*-crown is found in a number of

texts. *FECT* 313 (*CT IV*, 87) states that the *atef*-crown is given to Osiris by Re, Atum, and the Ennead and that "...foes fall through fear when they see me..."; "[I] went forth in the manner of kingship, my great *atef*-crown on my head." *FECT* 334 (*CT IV*, 182) states that "...my great *atef*-crown was on my brow....so that it might put dread of me into the gods." *BD* 175 has a reference to Osiris putting on the *atef*-crown during his reign in Heracleopolis Magna in order to strike terror in the hearts of the other gods. *BD* 183 provides something of a parallel to the text of *pBrooklyn 47.218.49*: "Thou art dawned as lord of the two banks, with Re's *atef*-crown on thy brow. The gods come to thee bowing down, fear of thee having pervaded their bodies." *pLuynes* provides a passage in which the act of donning the *atef*-crown makes one the "lord of terror," for which see *RT I* (1870) 92. *pBM 10288* outlines in great detail the story of Horus putting on the *atef*-crown, an action which causes his face to swell, an obvious etiological or eponymous myth whose apparent purpose is to explain a later derived etymology of the name Harshef as "swollen of face." For a detailed discussion of the *atef*-crown and its meaning, see J. Zandee, *Amunhymnus II* 535-538; 630-637, and P. Derchain, "La couronne de la justification. Essai d'analyse d'un rite ptolémaïque," *CdE* 30 (1955) 225-287. It is also to be noted that a great number of amuletic figurines, phylactic or apotropaic in nature and use, wear the *atef*-crown. These figures are often animal-headed and not associated with any specific deity. It appears that it is the presence of the *atef*-crown on these figures that gives the amulets their apotropaic power.

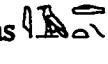
II/14, n. PP. The parallel text at XIII/6 differs somewhat from the text given here.

The present passage has the group $\text{◎} \text{---} \text{!} tp\text{-}$, an adverbial phrase meaning "formerly" or "from before." The parallel passage has $\text{---} \text{◎} \text{---} r tp.f$, meaning

"on his head." Either ^{①—④} is a scribal error for ①— or two different ideas are intended. The number of minor differences in signs and phrases in the two texts may represent two versions of an original myth, or two stemmata of a textual archetype, one of which is corrupt.

II/14, n. QQ. The restoration of the beginning of the verb  *nriw*: "terrorize" is based on the parallel. I have chosen to read the group  as *nri.n.f*, a *sdm.n.f* form with the following phrase *ntrw imyw i3t.sn* : "the gods who are in their mounds" functioning as its object. The parallel at XIII/6 differs in that the verb *nri* is written there as a *sdm.f* form.

II/14, n. RR. I have restored  *imyw i3dt.s]n*: "who are in their mounds" at the end of the line, following the reading at XIII, 6. For words spelled *i3dt*, *Wb. I 35, 4-36, 11* lists 11 separate words with a variety of determinatives. For a writing of *i3dt* similar to that in the present passage, see J.H. Breasted, *pEdwin Smith* 20,10, who translates it as "snare," taking it to be the word given at *Wb. I 36, 8-11*. The absence of the net-determinative  (Sign-list 90) there could be due to superstition. Here it could be the word given by *Wb. I 35, 8* meaning "*i3dt*-mound," despite the lack of a determinative such as the mound-determinative  (Sign-list N30) or the town-sign  (Sign-list O49), either of which would help clarify the meaning. If the *i3dt*-mound is what is intended, in all likelihood it refers to the burial places of the primeval deities mentioned. The *Djeme*-mound in Thebes, located on the west bank at Medinet Habu, was such a place, serving as the focal point in the *Djeme*-festival celebrated every ten days at Thebes. During this festival, the god Amun left the Karnak temple to visit the deceased primeval gods at their burial site. A reference to a god who is *nb i3dt* "Lord of his Mound" occurs at *pLeiden I 348* rt. 3, 6, with the writing of the word

i3t as . However, that same text, at vs. 11, 5, also uses the identical writing for the word *3t* "time;" such a spelling for *3t* is common in the New Kingdom, for which see J. Borghouts, *pLeiden 348 I* n.410. One is tempted to see the meaning "time" here, given the occurrence of the temporal phrases, *m tp-*: "from before" and *ntrw tp* "wy.sn: "the gods who were their predecessors" in the present passage. The Leiden text, cited above, at rt. 9, 2, uses the same writing again for the word *3d* "rage;" such a meaning here, however, would make little sense.

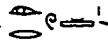
II/15, n. SS. The group  at the beginning of the line completes the writing of the suffix pronoun .sn, whose initial sign is the last sign of the preceding line. This restoration fits the traces and the parallel at XIII, 6.

II/15, n. TT. Restoring the group  tp "wy.sn: "who were their predecessors," following the parallel XIII/6-7 and fitting the space required.

II/15, n. UU. The verb  *dg3* follows the series of *sdm.n.f* forms. It is given at *Wb. V 496, 8-14* with either  (Sign-list A30) or  (Sign-list A5) as the determinative. The present passage shows the former determinative; the parallel at XIII/6 has the latter determinative. Although *dg3* is followed by *n.f*, it does not appear to be a *sdm.n.f* form here. Given the sense required by the context of the present passage, *dg3* apparently indicates a gesture of deference that is required on the part of the terrorized gods. See II/14, n. NN and n. OO above.

II/15, n. VV. Restore  *hm sn* : "Fall back! Withdraw..." following the parallel at XIII/ 7. These imperatives are, of course, addressed to the malevolent beings who assail or attempt to assail the Pharaoh. *pLeiden I 348* rt. 6, 6 provides a useful parallel: *ht hm n 3t irt.f* "Fall back! Withdraw! because of the striking power of the fiery eye of his!" addressed to a group of malevolent

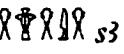
beings. *SocBehague* M 60 a 2 similarly has *ht hm h3* "Fall back! Withdraw! Back!"

II/16, n. WW. The traces here apparently show  . A similar writing appears in the parallel at XIII/7 but without the final plural strokes. It is difficult to make sense of this group. Perhaps the sign  (Sign-list Z6) is to be read as an ideogram for "evil" or even "death," used here as a determinative to mark the activity of the verb *ir*, "do, make" as evil or hostile. See A. Massart, *pLeiden I* 343+345 vs. 8, 11 and p. 69, n. 23 for the occurrence and discussion of the term  *hry*; there it is translated as "who are dead" based on the notion that the sign  is an ideogram or at least a determinative. *SocBehague* Spell IV p. 22, l.3 gives a word written  , transliterated there as *iry kn* and translated as "evil-doer." The verb  *ii* is sometimes written with the determinative  to mark the coming or approach of a being with evil intentions; that verb is also written with the determinative  in the term  *iit*: lit. "what will come," i.e., bad future events. See, for example, Y. Koenig, *pBoulaq* 6 rt. 3, 9 and 41 n. b.; E. Drioton, *Mélanges Dussaud* II 495-506; and finally S. Morenz, *Mélanges Michalowski* 139-150, all of whom discuss the use of such determinatives. Perhaps the writing of  at III/7 below provides something of a parallel as well. See III/7, n. BB below.

II/16, n. XX. The verb  *h3y* often has negative associations and is equivalent to "assault" or "assail." See Y. Koenig, *pBoulaq* 6 rt. 3, 9, who cites such a meaning for *h3y* in *pChester Beatty VI* rt. 2, 2-9; *pLeiden I* 348 vs. 2, 1; and *pTurin 1993* 118, 9.

II/16, n. YY. The phrase     *ntf hr s3 st*: "He is Horus, son of Isis." provides an example of the nominal constructions that commonly follow an

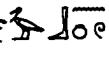
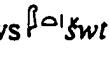
address to inimical forces to explain why they will fail or have already failed in their attacks on the patient. See XII/19 below where a similar statement occurs: *nfr Pth n hrw pn*: "He is Ptah of this day;" the statement there is associated with the patient assailed by the forces of evil. For further parallels to this usage, see, for example, S. Sauneron, *pIllustré* 4, 2.

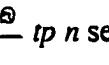
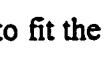
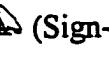
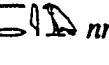
II/16, n. ZZ. For the formula  *s3 h3 s3 ii s3*, see *Wb.* III 414, 14-15. It occurs commonly in medical and protection texts; see, for example, *pHearst* 14, 10; *pLeiden I* 347, 12, 8; *pmagHarris* 7, 12; 11,1; *MuK N* 9, 6; and *pLeiden I* 346 3, 12. A variant is given by *pGeneva MAH* 15274 in *s3 hr s3*, "A protection of Horus is a protection!" J. Borghouts, *AEMT* 48 (Nº 77) translates the phrase *s3 h3 s3 ii s3* as "Protection behind protection, protection has arrived!"

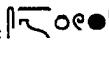
II/16, n. AB. The restoration of  : *dd mdw hr snf*: "Words to be recited over the blood..." is based on the parallel at XIII/8. The presence of the rubric indicates the beginning of the prescription that forms the coda of this spell, although the damage to the papyrus here and at the top of the next column all make confirmation impossible. The rubric seems to end with the sign  or the sign that follows it, but the prescription and the directions for its application continue. Such a writing of prescriptions is the norm in this text, with only the first few words rubricized to indicate the beginning of the prescription proper.

II/17, n. AC. The lacuna at the beginning of the line has been restored as , following XIII/8 below. On the word  *drg3t*, *Wb.* V 478, 4 gives "belegt Med. offizinell verwendet. vgl. *d3gi* 'Fledermaus' und *dg3t*." *WbDN* 572 gives the writing , citing *pEbers* 63, 13 (*Eb* 424) and 63, 18 (*Eb* 426) as well as the writing , citing *pEbers* 76, 8-9 (*Eb* 596). See finally J.

Barns, *Ramesseum Papyri* 18, n.15, where the blood of the *dʒgit*-mouse is offered as a remedy against an ingrown eyelash.

II/17, n. AD. The restoration of the lacuna is difficult due to the very fragmentary nature of this line; in addition, the parallel at XIII/8 is damaged as well. The group  at the middle of the line suits the final signs of   *bnw*: "phoenix," given at *Wb*. I 458, 4. This reading is further confirmed by the fact that the text here is a list of bird parts used in a prescription. Such a reading is supported by the traces found in the parallel as well which shows  *ȝwt*: "feather." *WbDN* 483 gives examples of *ȝwt* used in prescriptions, although the feather of a phoenix is not listed as one of them. *pEdwin Smith* 18, 10 does list a feather of a vulture, a word that seems to follow here almost immediately.

II/17, n. AE. The group  *tp n* seems to mean "head of." Note, however, that the sign *tp* lacks the oblique stroke that normally follows it. The traces after the group  do seem to fit the upper part of the hieratic sign  (Sign-list G14) used as the determinative in the word  *nri* "vulture;" see G. Möller, *HP* III, 17, No. 193. *WbDN* 304 gives *snf n nrt* "in einem Salbmittel (*ȝs*) neben *snf n mnit*; *snf n smn*; *snf n mnt*," citing *pEbers* 88, 22 (*Eb* 737). One other possibility is that the group *nr...* is the beginning of a writing of *nrȝw* "ibex," the fat of which animal is a common ingredient in recipes; see, for example, *pHearst* 8, 14 (*H* 114) and 16 (*H* 118); 12, 13 (*H* 185); 15, 5 (*H* 227); *pEbers* 52, 12 (*Eb* 298) and 14 (*Eb* 299); *pmedLondon* 6, 2-3 (*L* 16); and *pEdwin Smith* 16, 11 (*Sm Fall* 46). Nevertheless, the traces here better support the reading as it is given. It should be noted that this phrase is omitted in the parallel at XIII/8-9.

II/17, n. AF. In the lacuna, restore   *snwh*: "boiled," following the parallel at XIII/9 and the traces here. The practice of boiling the ingredients of a

prescription to make a topical application occurs commonly in these texts. *pLeiden I* 348 rt. 9, 7 also uses the word *snwh* as the technical term for the boiling of ingredients; see further *pEbers* 49, 1 (*Eb* 262) and 65, 12-13 (*Eb* 454-455).

II/17, n. AG. It is possible that the lengthy prescription of the parallel found at XIII/9-10 continued here. Such a restoration would require slightly more than one and one-half lines, meaning that the present text would continue from line 17 to line 18 and then either to a lost line 19 of the present column or to line 1 of Column III. In any case, that last line of the prescription would continue with the now missing rubric that begins the next spell. One problem with such a restoration, however, is the apparent presence of *hr* at the end of line 17, which could be construed as the beginning of the phrase [*hr*] ‘*d ‘nh*, "over the fat of a goat," a restoration that would not follow the parallel at XIII, 9-10 exactly. To such an objection, it should be noted that the two passages have shown a number of variations throughout.

TRANSLATION WITH COMMENTARY OF SPELL D

(COLUMN III, 1 - III, 14)

(P. BROOKLYN 47.218.49)

1. [.....word.....
.....]^
2. I have (?)^b [... 2 cm. ...] of the Evil One^c [... 3.5 cm.] this his [... Do not] come
against [the ear of Pharaoh]^d
3. their^e hearts are joyful when they see [... 3 cm. ...] they [...]the gods. May they turn
back^f[him (?)^g from the ear of Pharaoh. O (?)]^h
4. dead male, dead female. May they make [him (?)] fallⁱ [... 3 cm. ...] men. May they
turn back [him (?)^j from the ear of Pharaoh]^k
5. May they^l overthrow him^m upon (?)ⁿ [... 3 cm. ... May they...] his bitterness^o
against their hearts [... 3 cm. ...]^p
6. their abominations. [May they]^q place (?)^r[... 4 cm. ...his...] effluxes, his mucus,
nose^s [... 3 cm. ...]
7. smelling ... (?)^t effluxes [... 3 cm. he ...]^u their hearts against the enemy, the fiend,
dead male, dead female, [male adversary, female adversary]^v
8. and so on to come for him^w in order to stand^x [... 2.5 cm. ...] to come for him in
order to stand in front of him.^y [O every dead male]^z
9. every dead female, male adversary, female adversary and so on [who turn back]^{aa}
from the ear of Pharaoh, [... not ...]^{bb}
10. he [...]^{cc} in the vicinity^{dd} of Pharaoh. [She (?)] saves^{ee} [... 2 cm. ..] her lord^{ff}. She
establishes the soundness of^{gg} the testicles^{hh}[... 2 cm. ...]

11. their two arms (?).^u He is united with his [confederates].^u He is turned over upon^{xx} Wennefer,^u justified. [... 2 cm. ...]
12. indeed^{mm} the enemy, the fiend, dead male, dead female, male [adversary, female adversary who does]ⁿⁿ evil, indeed,^{oo} against the Pharaoh. If you do not [turn back from]^{pp}
13. the ear of the Pharaoh, then [you] shall be turned back^{qq} ... its place,^{rr} possessing (?)^{ss} [...]^{tt} against their multitude.^{uu} [*Words to be recited*]^{vv}
14. over flax,^{ww} sft-oil,^{xx} laudanum,^{yy} hdrt,^{zz} [... 1.5 cm. ...] ground finely^{ab} together^{ac}
(and) filtered through cloth^{ad} (and) placed [at the ear].^{ae}

COMMENTARY III, 1 - 14

General Remarks: The numerous lacunae preclude a clear understanding of this spell.

The presence of the suffix pronoun *.sn*, with no legible antecedent and of the suffix pronoun *.k*, which clearly refers to a representative of the forces of chaos at the end of the spell, points to two different groups of beings. The pronoun *.sn* apparently refers not to the inimical forces, but to beings who are in alliance with the Pharaoh. At III/10 appears an unidentifiable female being, perhaps a goddess, who also seems to be working on the Pharaoh's behalf. The alignment of the two fragments that contain the extant text of this spell is based on a conjectured width of 19 cm. for the present column and on the orientation of the damage pattern that occurs in the lower half of each fragment and on the rubric that occurs at III/14.

III/1, n. A. The space above the few signs of this line show enough blank papyrus to indicate that this is the first line of the column.

III/2, n. B. The group  *n.i* may be signs of a *sdm.n.f* form that would be the final word of III/1; alternatively, it may be a prepositional phrase. It is unclear to whom *.i.*: "I/me" refers.

III/2, n. C. On  : *b* "Evil One," see *Wb.* I 410, 9. It is used indiscriminately as a designation of the archetypal enemy of the sun-god or of Osiris, namely Apophis or Seth respectively. See P. Derchain, *RdE* 9 (1952) 25 n.6; and P. Vernus, *Orientalia* 48 (1979) 179, n.12. The same word occurs again at VIII/17 and at XIII/13, and XIII/14.

III/2, n. D. At the end of the line, restore most likely     

III/3, n. E. The third person suffix pronoun  *.sn*: "they" occurs throughout this spell as the subject of a number of *sdm.f* forms. The single greatest obstacle to a clear understanding of the text here is the difficulty encountered in establishing the identity of the beings to whom the pronoun *.sn* refers. It seems not to be the inimical forces, but to beings who are in alliance with the pharaoh. Note that Spell E has gods acting as agents of protection for the pharaoh as well. That spell also contains an appeal to "any male, any female, any commoner, any of the Sun-people" to stand behind Psamtik in order to protect and save him. It is possible that the lacunae at the beginning of this spell contained a similar address or description of such a group. The difference between the present text and that of Spell E is that the former is a description given in the third person while the latter consists of an address in the second person, another indication of the composite nature of this document.

III/3, n. F. On the verb   *rwi*, see *Wb.* II 406, 2-407, 4. *WbMT* 525 gives the transitive meaning "entfernen vom Heilmittel, das die Krankheit entfernt," citing

pEbers 88, 21 (*Eb* 763). The presence of *sw* as the direct object of [*s*]*hr* in ll. 4-5 argues in favor of understanding *rwi* as transitive here and in the following line. The direct object of *rwi*, the pronoun *sw* in both cases, may have been written where the lacunae now appear. Additionally, there is suitable room in this line for the restoration *sw m msdrt n pr* '3 : "...him from the ear of Pharaoh." *pDeM* 36 6 provides an excellent parallel, showing an example of *rwi* used transitively with the direct object *sw* also referring to a malevolent being. For that text, see S. Sauner, *Kemi* 20 (1970) 7-18, esp. n. s. *pLeiden I* 343 + 345 rt. 4, 5 has *rwi.k tw*: "Remove yourself!" See also A. Massart, *pGeneva MAH* 15274 rt. 4, 8, where an intransitive use of *rwi* occurs in the phrase *rwi.k r-h3t*; there the translation "Keep away from...!" is given; see finally *pConfirmation* 1, 18 for yet another transitive use of this verb.

III/3, n. G. On the restoration of the direct object pronoun *sw*, see III/3, n. F preceding.

III/3, n. H. For the restoration of *rwi.sn* [*sw m msdr pr* '3...]: "May they turn [him from the ear of the Pharaoh]," compare III/9 and see III/3, n. F above. A vocative marker seems needed, considering what is written at the beginning of III/4.

III/4, n. I. If the word  *hr* is the noun given at *Wb.* III 321, 7-322, 1 with the meaning "...verächtliche Bez. für Feind", then it is the only occurrence of the word in the lists of malevolent beings in this text. The scant traces at the beginning of the lacuna may suit¹, perhaps the first sign of the pronoun , which would function here as the subject of a verb *hr*. The context makes such a reading attractive, given the numerous other prospective *sdm.f* forms. A transitive meaning for *hr* is given at *Wb.* III 321, 3-5: "fallen," "niederwerfen."

III/4, n. J. On the verb *rwi*, see III/3, n. F above.

III/4, n. K. At the end of the line "...him from the ear of the Pharaoh" is a possible restoration. The sign , visible at the very end of the line, is the first letter of the verb *shr* "overthrow," the writing of which continues onto the next line.

III/5, n. L. The pronoun *.sn*, the subject of the verb *shr*, apparently refers to the forces fighting on behalf of Pharaoh and the direct object pronoun *sw* to a form of the forces of chaos. See III/3, n. E above.

III/5, n. M. For the antecedent of the pronoun *sw*, see III/5, n. F above.

III/5, n. N. The sign is visible, but there are no traces of what follows.

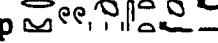
III/5, n. O. The word *dhrt* is given at *Wb.* V 483, 5-10 with the meaning "Bitternis." Citing numerous occurrences of the word, *WbMT* 988 gives a meaning "Name einer dämonischen Krankheit." The word has a generally negative connotation. See, for example, *pConfirmation* 2, 6: *ihy shmt Bstt nhm.k pr '3 m-`bw m-`dhrtw nšn nbt dw n rnpt*: "O Sakhmet, Bastet, may you save Pharaoh from danger, from bitterness, from every evil raging of the year!" and there also p. 90, n. 55 with references. See also J. Borghouts, *pLeiden I* 348 r.3, 5, who offers the meaning "sickness." A. Piankoff, *Coeur* 100, cites the phrase *dhrt h3ty* and translates it as "craintif," yet later at 123 he gives the translation "amer de coeur." It appears as well in *pEbers* 41, 20 (*Eb* 205). In *pEbers* 100, 18-20 (*Eb* 855h), it states that *dhrt* is a disease that can affect various parts of the body and that it enters through the heart. J.H. Breasted, *pEdwin Smith* p. 475, translates it as "sickness," citing *pEbers* 100, 18-20 (*Eb* 855h). For further examples, see *pRamesseum III* B.25; and *pTurin* 1983 T.1, vs. 81-82. For an example of the term *dhrt* used as a potentially hostile power in the possession of

the gods, see the phrase in *pHearst* 14, 8 (H 215): *dd.tn n ntrw nty is dhrt hr ib.sn* "...you say to the gods in whose hearts there is indeed *dhrt*." The word is used in a similar sense in stele Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek AEIN 974 where it refers to the aspect of the magician who faces hostile forces. For a translation of that text, see J. Borghouts, *AEMT* N° 121 who translates *dhrt* there as "grimness." In the present passage, the word is qualified with *f*, apparently referring to a malevolent being. If so, *dhrt* refers to an affliction he is attempting to impose upon the Pharaoh, and the beings to whom *.sn* refers are attempting to thwart that force on his behalf. Alternatively, it is possible that the word may describe the aspect of the demon here and his adversarial stance.

III/5, n. P. Based on what follows at the beginning of III/6, the lacuna at the end of the line seems to require a verb, now lost.

III/6, n. Q. On the restoration of the suffix pronoun  *.sn*, see III/6, n. R following.

III/6, n. R. The lacuna following the word  *wd* is 4 cm. Given the context of lines 5 - 8, *wd.[sn...]* is a possible restoration. The precise nuance of *wdi* can not be determined, given the lacuna. The choices range from "place" to "render" to "give."

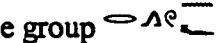
III/6, n. S. The reading of the group  *rdw stt.f fnd*: "...effluxes, his mucus, nose..." is certain, but the relationship of these three words is unclear, owing to the lacunae that precede and follow them. It is possible that *stt.f* and *fnd* go together, giving something like "...his mucus (of) (his) nose..." On *stt* "mucus," see *WbMT* 812-814.

III/7, n. T. The beginning of this line presents several difficulties. The hieratic signs  seem to be the final signs of the verb *hnm* "smell" as given by *Wb.* III 293, 2-6; a verb or even a noun with such a meaning seems perfectly suited to the

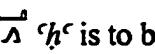
present context. The hieratic group that follows appears to be a writing of  , but such a group yields little sense. *Wb.* II 384, 8 - 385, 13 gives the sign  (Sign-list G36) as an abbreviated writing of the adjective *nds* "small" but not as an abbreviation of the substantive. It is quite possible that the text is corrupt or that a word or group of signs has been omitted.

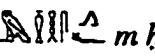
III/7, n. U. The traces of the end of the tail of the sign  below the word  *ib*: "heart" point to a restoration of a verb in the preceding lacuna with *f* as its subject. The problem with such a restoration is that each verb in this section has consistently had *.sn* as its subject. A possible restoration might could be  *ib.sn*, giving a reading like "he sets their hearts against the enemy." See R.O. Faulkner, *Concise Dictionary* 47, for the phrase  *ib* with such a meaning. Such a restoration, however, would still require establishing to whom the preposition *f* refers.

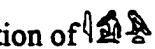
III/7, n. V. The signs at the beginning of III/8 and the space available at the end of this line suggest a restoration of  *mwt mwtt d3 d3t*: "...dead male, dead female, male adversary, female adversary..." See II/11 above and III/12 below for an identical series of malevolent beings.

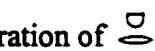
III/8, n. W. The group  *r iw n.f* presents several problems. If we read *iw.n.f* as a *sdm.n.f* form, then the preceding *r* is possibly temporal "...until he has come ..." The person to whom *f* refers remains unclear. In III/10-12 below, there seem to be some references to Seth, Apophis, or a manifestation of the forces of chaos. The prefix pronoun *f* in the present line could refer to that being. Alternatively, it is possible to understand *iw* as an infinitive—though one would expect the writing *iwt*—followed by the prepositional phrase *n.f*; its subject would be the beings referred to by the preposition *.sn* of the preceding line,

namely the allies of Pharaoh. The pronoun *f* would then refer to the Pharaoh, the translation being something like "...in order to come for him..."

III/8, n. X. The word  is to be understood as a verb with the meaning "take up a defensive stance" or the like.

III/8, n. Y. The phrase  *m hs.f* is cited by *Wb.* III 159, 15-17 with a range of meanings. In the present passage, it can be read with its hostile meaning "against;" in such a case, the following *f* would then refer to Seth, Apophis, or whatever manifestation of chaos is referred to in ll. 10-12. On the other hand, it can have a localized meaning like "in front of." See A.H. Gardiner, *EGJ* 582, for such a meaning. The object of the preposition *f* would still refer to Seth or the like, with the forces of protection standing in front of the malevolent being to block his path.

III/8, n. Z. The restoration of  *i mwt nb*: "O every dead male..." at the end of the line is based on the traces of the sign  at the beginning of the lacuna and on what follows at the beginning of III/9.

III/9, n. AA. The restoration of  *hmt r3 nty rwi*: "...and so on who turn back..." fits the lacuna and gives the basic sense required. Given that the relative *nty* precedes the verbal *rwi*, the latter should be read as an intransitive participle "who turn back." An alternative solution would be to restore an imperative here with a meaning like "Turn back!" In the latter case, the pronoun *nty* would not be part of the restoration. A third possibility is that the verbal was preceded by a negative marker; the meaning, then, would be something like "...who do not turn back..."

III/9, n. BB. Restoration at the end of the line is problematic. *tm* could be the negative verb or the adjective. If *tm* is the verb, it is unclear what its subject was.

III/10, n. CC. The first sign of this line, f, is possibly a subject pronoun of a verb, now lost, at the end of the preceding line.

III/10, n. DD. To the hieratic group m s3h "in the vicinity" the scribe has added the supra linear signs to indicate the correct reading of the sign .

III/10, n. EE. The restoration after nhm is problematic. In lines III/15-17, the verb appears three times with .k as the subject and Psmtk or pr '3 as the direct object followed by a prepositional phrase introduced by m-. The suffix pronoun k: "you" cannot be the subject here, however, as the hieratic traces of would appear below the sign (Sign-list A24). It is possible that the subject of nhm is the same person indicated by the suffix pronoun in the phrase nb.s that follows.

III/10, n. FF. The writing nb with the divine determinative (Sign-list G7) establishes its meaning as "lord" beyond question. It is unclear to whom the suffix pronoun .s refers.

III/10, n. GG. The group can be read as either iw sip.n.f or iw.s ip n.f. The former reading takes the sign as the first sign of the verb , the whole group representing iw sip.n.f, an iw sdm.n.f. form. Such a reading would yield an apparent parallel to the verb phrase iw sm3.n.f in the next line. An alternative interpretation would be to take the sign as the pronoun subject .s and the group as the verb ip. In this version, the whole would represent iw.s ip n.f, an iw.s sdm form + the prepositional phrase n.f. Given that the two verbs sip and ip are closely related in meaning, their nuances being "count," "inspect," "inventory," either reading would suit the present context. *pEdwin Smith* 19, 5 may offer some insight with the phrase hd t3 n ip irt hr: "Morning of counting the Eye of Horus...", i.e. "establishing its soundness." The same idea occurs at *FECT* 45 (*CT I*, 198) in the statement: "...would that you were examined and made whole."

Edfu VI 299, 13, a protection text, has the phrase *hr sip n.k ‘t.k* "to assign to you your limbs" in the sense of "to make well." The noun *hrwy.f* "his testicles" which follows the verb phrase here may contain an allusion to the battle between Horus and Seth, in which Horus was blinded in one eye and Seth was castrated. If such is the case, the preposition *f* may refer to Seth, and the preceding lacuna may have contained a parallel clause dealing with Horus. Alternatively the verb *sip* can be used of "assigning" or "consigning" foes to the fire, which may well be what was intended here. On *sip* with such a meaning, see P. Wilson, *Ptolemaic Lexicon* 798. Understanding *f* as referring to Seth is attractive since he is clearly the subject of the two verbs in the next line. It is possible, however, that the reference here is to Osiris. *FECT* 36 (*CT I*, 141-142) mentions the severed testicles of Osiris, undoubtedly a reference to the mutilation of the body of Osiris by Seth. The mention of Wennefer in the next line would make such a reading attractive as well. What can be said with certainty is that the lacunae in the text here preclude establishing the identity of the person to whom the *s* refers.

III/10, n. HH. The writing of  *hrwy* is a dual form with the "intrusive" plural strokes found often in such writings, most likely as space fillers.

III/11, n. II. The presence of the sign and the space available in the lacuna after  "wy: "two arms" suits the restoration of the suffix pronoun  *.sn.*

III/11, n. JJ. The restoration of the word  is based on the presence of the two signs  , the demands of the context of the passage, and the writing given at *Wb.* IV, 6. See also *Wb.* III 450, 7-9, especially 9 for this word referring to enemies of the king.

III/11, n. KK. The verb  *pn* is given at *Wb.* I 508, 11-509, 9 with the basic meaning "umwenden." There is enough room in the lacuna to restore 

pn^c.tw.f.: "he is overturned...", a passive *sdm.tw.f* form. Such a reading makes sense because the direct object of *pn^c* would not be introduced by the preposition *hr* which immediately follows the verb phrase here. Another possible translation is "He is overturned on behalf of Wennefer." An alternate interpretation is that the lacuna contained only the determinative  (Sign-list A24); in this case, the verb would be understood as a *sdm.f* passive form.

III/11, n. LL. The basic discussions of Wennefer remain A.H. Gardiner, "Οννωρρις," *Miscellanea Academica Berolinensis* II/2 (1950) 44-53 and V.A. Donahue, *JEA* 64, (1978) 146-148. See also J.-C. Goyon, *Cérémonial* 115, n. 51, who states that the god called *Wnn-nfr m^{3c}-hrw* is the god of Busiris in his aspect of the revived and divinised king. Perhaps the mention of Wennefer in the present passage is significant: because the god has triumphed over his enemies, so will the patient.

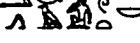
III/12, n. MM. The group  can be understood as the particle *rk* following an imperative or be taken as a prepositional phrase *r.k* "against you," with *.k* referring to each of the beings listed in the text that follows.

III/12, n. NN. The restoration of the group    *d3t iry*: "...and dead female who do..." is based on the traces, the space available, and the sense required.

III/12, n. OO. On the occurrence of the particle *is* in the middle of a sentence, see A.H. Gardiner, *EG³* § 247, where numerous examples are given in which the particle *is* follows the verb group. The example given at *EG³* § 247, 5, in particular, shows the particle occurring rather late in the sentence as it does here.

III/12, n. PP. The restoration of   *rwi m*: "...turn back from..." at the end of the line is based on the sense required here and on what follows. On the verb *rwi*, see III/3, n. F. above. See A. Massart, *pGeneva MAH 15274* vs. 5,2-3,

which provides something of a parallel where a negative protasis is followed by a threat in the apodosis. *ir tm ‘h^c r sdm mdw.i iw.i h3^c ht ddw...*: "If (you) don't stop to listen to my words, I shall throw fire (on) Busiris..."

III/13, n. QQ. The group  *rwi.k3.tw.k*: "you will be turned back..." is to be understood as a *sdm.k3.f* form. See A.H. Gardiner, *EG³* § 434, for the use of this form in an apodosis expressing future consequence. See also J.P Allen, *Middle Egyptian* 22.10. The signs  that can be read just before the lacuna is the *tw* of the *sdm.tw.f* passive. Note that the scribe has added the supra linear sign  to make the writing of *rwi* accord with that which appear in III/3 and III/4.

III/13, n. RR. The tentative restoration of the word  *st*: "place" is based on the traces available and the sense required.

III/13, n. SS. The group  *hrwy* occurs before a small break in the papyrus. The lack of any determinative makes the exact reading of this word difficult to ascertain.

III/13, n. TT. The traces after  are too faint to allow positive reconstruction, but note that the sign  (Sign-list Z6) appears at the end of the break.

III/13, n. UU. The word  *h^c* is that given at *Wb.* I 221, 8-9: "Menge von Menschen; die grosse Masse."

III/13, n. VV. The restoration of  *dd mdw*: "Words to be recited..." fits the available space. It is the regularly encountered phrase that begins prescriptions in this text.

III/14, n. WW. The group  *mhw* is the word given at *Wb.* II 121, 4-7 meaning "der Flachs." Note, however, that the present writing is not given. *WbDN* 281

gives *mhi* used "als Zauberdroge im Zauberspruch/als Drogé" citing

pRamesseum III B 31; 33; and pRamesseum IV D 3.

III/14, n. XX. For *sft*, see *WbDN* 436-437 where the simply the meaning "ein Öl" is given. It is apparently the same oil that is found in Old Kingdom offering lists where it is written *sft*. See further A.H. Gardiner, *AEO I 8**, n.1 where it is said to be an oil derived from the cedar-tree. Concerning its mythological origins, *pSalt* 825 2, 3 states that it came from the blood from the nose of Geb, a *figura etymologica* based on the obvious paronomasia between *sft*: "sft-oil" and *sft*: "blood."

III/14, n. YY. On *ibr*, see *WbDN* 23-25 where it is cited in a number of texts with the basic meaning "Laudanum" and said to be used "bei Erkrankungen des Kopfes und des Kopfhaares." The ingredient *ibr* commonly occurs in medical texts, both in salves and in bandage/application remedies for the head and the eyes. It is even used as a hair-restorer. See P. Derchain, *CdE* 30 (1955) 248-9, for its use in certain royal rituals, particularly in sequences that deal with Horus triumphing over his enemies. Based on that use, its appearance here may be significant.

III/14, n. ZZ. The extant hieratic traces suggest reading . Citing *pRamesseum III A* and *pEdwin Smith* 20, 18, *WbDN* 389 gives a word written *hdrt* with the meaning "ein noch nicht sicher bestimmtes Tier." See A.H. Gardiner, *pChester Beatty III* 16, n.3 and 47, n. 3, who proposed the reading "weasel;" J.A. Barns, *Ramesseum Papyri* 18, suggested the meaning "a type of fox." An alternative reading would be the word given at *Wb. III* 214, 13 with the meaning "Art Würmer welche die Leiche fressen." This word is not cited by *WbDN*. The loss of the determinative in the lacuna makes its exact reading here impossible.

III/14, n. AB. The sign  is clear and the sign , now lost, likely preceded it. These two terms, read as *nd šn*" and meaning "ground finely," occur together commonly in prescriptions in medical texts, for which see *WbMT* 493-496 and 756-757 respectively. The phrase occurs twice more in the papyrus at V/11 and VIII/6 below.

III/14, n. AC. On the group written , see *Wb.* I 124, 13 which gives it as a writing of  *wt*: "one; together."

III/14, n. AD. The group  is a variant writing of the verb    *sh3k* given at *Wb.* IV 268, 6-8 with the meaning "durchseihen" and "Flüssiges durch (*m*) Tücher seihen." See also *WbMT* 792-793 which discusses the use of this verb with the phrase *m hbs*: "...through cloth." The same phrase appears in *pmedBerlin* 11, 11 (*Bln* 138); 16, 7 (*Bln* 163h); 20, 4 (*Bln* 185); 20, 5 (*Bln* 186); and 20, 9 (*Bln* 188).

III/14, n. AE. Based on a parallel at VIII/6, the restoration at the end of the line would be the phrase   *di r msdrt*: "placed at the ear" which would bring this spell to a conclusion. It should be noted that the lacuna at the end of the line is at most only slightly larger than 2 cm. and must accommodate the writing of *ky*: "Another...", the first word of the new spell, a writing that will take up at least 1 cm.

TRANSLATION WITH COMMENTARY OF SPELL E

(COLUMNS III, 15-V, 3)

(P. BROOKLYN 47.218.49)

14. [Another]^A
15. *spell.* O Re, one who has authority^B over Maat, who discerns what is [Maat,]^C Bull in Heliopolis,^D come, may you save [Pharaoh from]^E
16. a dead male, dead female and so on. O Osiris Heqa[djet, come,]^F may you save Psamtik from [a dead male,]^G
17. [dead female and so on.]^H [O... 6 cm. ...]^I come may you save Pharaoh from^J [the enemy, the fiend,
18. a dead male, dead female, male adversary, female adversary, and so on ...]^K

COLUMN IV

1. [... 19 cm. ...]^L
2. [...] he will not produce his heir,^M he will [not] exercise [the] entire (?)^N [office of his father (?)]^O. He is living;^P he has inherited^Q [... 2.5 cm. ...]
3. He has seized (?)^R the office of his father; [he has seized (?)] bread from (?)^S the hungry, [the water of]^T
4. the thirsty, the clothing of the naked^U [... 3 cm. ...]^V of a blessed dead.^W O Isis [... 2 cm. ...]^X
5. eldest, daughter^Y of Nut. Come, [save Psamtik]^Z from his enemy like you save(d) him (?)^{AA}
6. from the furious one,^{BB} him^{CC} from the confederates.^{DD} [Overpower]^{EE} the dead male, dead female, male adversary, female adversary of [Pharaoh].^{FF}
7. O^{GG} gods of the South, the North, the West, [the East^{HH} who fix destinies] throughout the land,^{II} who delight the heart of [... 2 cm. ...]^{II}

8. who fix destinies within^{KK} the shrine^{LL} [... 2.5 cm. ...]^{MM} throughout the land. Come then,^{NN} [may] you [protect (?)]^{OO}
9. may you make [...]^{PP} all the body of Psamtik. [Give]^{OO} to him his *ib*-heart in its place, his *h3ty*-heart^{RR} [in its place so that]^{SS}
10. he will not go astray;^{TT} he will not wander; he will not [... O (?) enemy, fiend]^{UU} dead male, dead female, male adversary, female adversary and so on. [Do not]^{VV}
11. come against his multitudes.^{WW} He shall not bear malice^{XX} [... 2.5 cm. ...].^{YY} A dead male, dead female shall not see it.^{ZZ} A dead male, [a dead female]^{AB} shall not pass [... 2 cm. ...]
12. seize his legs while going forth (?) his hand establishing (?)^{AC} [... 2.5 cm. ...] As for any male, any female,^{AD} any commoner, any of the Sun-people and so on^{AE} who proceed [...]^{AF}
13. [...]who act with (?)^{AG} their forms^{AH} in the necro[polis ...]^{AI} in Egypt when they go forth from [the necropolis]^{AJ}
14. who fix destinies^{AK} throughout the land.^{AL} Lo, place [your arms]^{AM} behind Psamtik. The protection which (you) make [for him...]^{AN}
15. [You will save]^{AO} him from doom (?),^{AP} him from [the epidemic] of this year,^{AQ} from every fiendish being,^{AR} from [every] fever,^{AS}
16. [from] every doom (?)^{AT} that comes forth from the mouth of the god who [floods]^{AU} the entire land. O great Ennead, o [small] Ennead^{AV}
17. who administer justice^{AW} in the presence of Re. Come administer^{AX} justice for Psamtik. You will save^{AY}
18. him^{AZ} from the rebels [... 6 cm. ...] concealed [...]^{BA} placed [...]^{BB}

COLUMN V

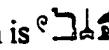
1. lives^{BC} [...10.5 cm. ...] gods^{BD} [... 4 cm. ...]
2. they [... 7.5 cm. ...] royal linen,^{BE} repeated (?)^{BF} [... 4 cm. ...]
3. spells^{BG} which are placed at^{BH} the head of a man while^{BI} [... 5 cm. ...] day.^{BJ}

COMMENTARY III, 14-V, 3

General Remarks: Despite numerous lacunae in this spell, some suggestions for restoration can be made, based on the context and on parallels elsewhere in the text. This spell shares a number of parallels with the texts from a crypt at El Kab, for which see the discussion at pp. 19-22 above. On the reconstruction of the text in Column V, see the discussion at p. 7 above.

III/14, n. A. The restored reading of the word  "ky": "Another" written in red is based on the rubricized writing of  "spell," the first word of III/15. See III/14, n. AE above.

III/15, n. B. *Wb.* III 140, 11 gives *hry-tp* as a divine title but nowhere cites this phrase as qualified by *m3t*. J. Zandee, *Amunhymnus* 228, discusses the phrase in passing but adds little more than the information given in the *Wörterbuch* entry. *LA* 683 lists *hry-tp* among the divine epithets used of gods associated with "Regens-Rektum" but only when used with a toponym.

III/15, n. C. A possible restoration is  "wd^c m3t": "discern or distinguish what is Maat," based on a parallel at IV/17 below where the phrase *wd^c m3t m b3h R^c* occurs; such a restoration also fits the space in the lacuna. On the phrase *wd^c m3t*, see *Wb.* I 405, 709. It is commonly encountered as an epithet of Thoth, for which see *pChester Beatty VIII* rt. 8,5; *IX* vs. B 4, 7; see also J.-C. Goyon, *pConfirmation* 11, 1 and 100, n. 170 with references. As a designation of

Re, it appears at *Edfu* I 395, 2, in a list of epithets of that god. J. Borghouts, *pLeiden* I 348 rt. 11, 5, cites its use in the Leiden text modifying the phrase *rȝ im.f* and gives the translation as "...a mouth is in it which administers justice." The word *wd̄* is often translated as "distinguish" or "discern," and its basic meaning when employed with the term *mȝt* is to "separate truth (from falsehood)." On the Egyptian sun-god as judge and savior, see J. Assmann, *Solar Religion* 190-210. For a recent discussion of Maat and Justice, one that takes a different stance from that found in the studies of Assmann, see B. Menu, *BIFAO* 94 (1994) 311-327 and *BIFAO* 95 (1995) 281-295.

III/15, n. D. The phrase  *kȝ m Twnw*: "Bull in Heliopolis" is commonly encountered as an epithet of the sun-god. Attested as early as the *Pyramid Texts*, it is often used of the Mnevis-bull, the visible manifestation of the god Re in Heliopolis. On the Mnevis-bull and its connections with the sun-god and references, see J.-C. Goyon, *pConfirmation* 92, n. 83. The phrase *kȝ Twnw* is also given as an epithet of Atum, for which see K. Mysliwiec, *Atum* 101. For a recent discussion of this phrase, see J. Zandee, *Amunhymnus* II 419-423.

III/15, n. E. The restoration of  suits the available space better than
.

III/16, n. F. Restore  after , the whole reading *Wsir hkȝ dt m̄*: "...Osiris Heqadjet from...". Osiris Heqadjet is best known from a temple in Thebes, located north of the eastern gate of the Karnak enclosure. This aspect of Osiris seems to have had particular importance for the dynasts of the Libyan periods and then for the God's Wives of Amun in the Kushite and Saite Periods who constructed a chapel to him. He was apparently associated with the reaffirmation of kingship and solidarity of the family. On this Theban form of Osiris and the

chapel erected and decorated by the God's Wives of Amun, see D.B. Redford,
JEA 59 (1973) 16-30.

III/16, n. G. The end of this line and the beginning of III/17 obviously contained a list of malevolent beings. The traces of the sign at the beginning of III/17 suggest the restoration *mwt*: "dead male."

III/17, n. H. The traces at the top of the break suggest a reading of *mwtt*: "dead female" after the initial sign (Sign-list Z6).

III/17, n. I. Before the traces which indicate the writing of *mi nhm.k*, a vocative containing the name of a deity and an appropriate epithet most likely occupied this lacuna of 6 cm., paralleling the phrases *R^c hry-t^c M^ct w_d^c m^ct* and *Wsir hk^c dt* found in the preceding two lines.

III/17, n. J. The traces above the break clearly show *mi nhm.k*: "Come! May you save..." There is enough space after that phrase and before the preposition *m^c*, traces of which can be seen clearly, for the writing of *pr^c*.

III/18, n. K. Another list of malevolent beings follows the address *nhm.k pr^c m^c* and continues into the next line, probably another line of Column III, now lost, since the traces at the beginning of IV/1 do not suit any of the signs of these words. Traces after *m^c* show the top of the first sign of *hftiw*: "enemy" and justify the restoration of the longer list as it occurs in III/7-8, for example. What would follow to complete the line is uncertain.

IV/1, n. L. The blank space above the scant traces at the top of the fragments establish this as the first line of the column.

IV/2, n. M. A probable restoration here is *iw^cwy*: "heir," a word which fits the traces and the available space. Although unclear, these lines possibly focus

on the consequences of Psamtik's not being cured. The text here may imply that the triumph of the forces of evil over the Pharaoh would have the same effect as their triumph over the sun-god; order would be destroyed and chaos would reign.

IV/2, n. N. The group  *dr.f* presents difficulties. The traces preceding this group show the traces of  but something else below that sign as well. The determinative  points to the word given at *Wb.* V 589, 6-591, 10. The reading  *r dr.f:* "entirely; all" is provisional.

IV/2, n. O. The restoration  *i3t n it.f* "office of his father" fits the available space and is based on the preserved first sign and the beginning of the next line which seems to continue the sense of this line.

IV/2, n. P. It is possible that '*nh.f*' here is a *sdm.f* form, corresponding to another earlier form like *mwt.f*: "he is dead," or *tm.f* '*nh*': "he will not live" the whole expressing the consequences of the Pharaoh's not being cured. See IV/2, n. M above.

IV/2, n. Q. There are only a few traces in the 2 cm. following  . At the end of that space the signs  can be read but little else.

IV/3, n. R. The traces at the beginning of the line suggest the restoration of the verb form  *nhm.n.f*. The translation "he has seized..." that is given here must remain provisional. The numerous lacunae make it difficult to understand the mythological allusions clearly. The first problem encountered is whether the intended writing is *nhm.n.f*, a *sdm.n.f* form, or *nhm n.f*, an imperative followed by a prepositional phrase. The second problem is establishing the meaning of the verb *nhm*. It can mean "fortnehmen, rauben" as given by *Wb.* II 295, 12 - 296, 8. If that is the case, then the person to whom *f* refers would not be Psamtik but some malevolent being; furthermore, *nhm.n.f* would represent a *sdm.n.f* form,

which is the interpretation adopted here. This part of the spell may refer to the reversal of order that has occurred because of Psamtik's illness or may be a projection of that reversal, though the *sdm.n.f* forms in the passage seem to argue against such an interpretation. The allusion may well be to the wrangling of Horus and Seth. The word *nḥm* occurs in *pChester Beatty I*, I,8 and IV, 10 to describe wrongful seizures of royal prerogatives and the office of kingship respectively.

It also possible that these forms are negative *n sdm.n.f* forms with the negative word *¬* occurring in the lacunae before the two writings of *nḥm n.f*. This construction, however, is not attested elsewhere in the papyrus. The pronoun *f* would then still refer to the malevolent being, and the resulting translation would be: "He cannot rob the office of his father, [he cannot rob] bread from the hand of the hungry, [the water of] the thirsty, the clothing of the naked, the [...] of the blessed dead." Where the text is better preserved at the end of III and from IV/5 onwards to the end of the spell, the format consists of enjoinders to various beings to do something on behalf of the pharaoh.

An alternate interpretation would be to read the verb *nḥm* as an imperative with a following dative and to take its meaning as "save" here rather than "seize." In this case, *nḥm n.f* would mean "save... for him ..." The pronoun *f* then, would most likely refer to Psamtik. Although such a translation easily makes sense with the first phrase *nḥm n.f i3t it.f*, "Save for him the office of his father," this rendering seems a bit peculiar for what follows. The phrases *nḥm n.f t m-^c hkr mw sri hbs n h3w [...] n 3h* might be translated as "Save for him the bread in the hand of the hungry man, the water of the thirsty, the clothing of the naked, [the offerings made] to the blessed dead." Such a reading might imply

that the idea expressed in this section of the text is that the maintenance of cosmic order and equilibrium is dependent upon the curing of the Pharaoh's illness. Each of these phrases above would express the need for the prevalence of Maat. Several passages from the Coffin Texts provide support for such an interpretation. For instance, *FECT* 13 (*CT I*, 41-42) states that "Horus was vindicated when he inherited the inheritance..." *FECT* 38 (*CT I*, 160) has the claim "... in order that that father of mine may give his place to me, in order that I may inherit his seat and assume his dignity." *FECT* 40 (*CT I*, 173) has the statement "...my bread is in my hand and the inheritance that my father had shall not be taken from me." Faulkner raised some questions about the exact meaning of these claims by the son, for which see *JEA* 48 (1962) 36-44.

IV/3, n. S. The preposition Δ occurs here in what appears to be the first element of a series of parallel ideas. It is replaced by the preposition — *n*: "of" in the clauses that follow. Consequently, the group Δ should probably be read *m-*': "from."

IV/3, n. T. The restoration of the noun $\Delta \equiv mw$: "water" is based on the context. It seems that some word like "water" or "beer" is required here. For a discussion of the problems in this passage, see both IV/3, n. R and IV/3, n. S above.

IV/4 n. U. For the reading adopted here, see IV/3, n. R above.

IV/4, n. V. If the phrase [...] *n 3hy*: "..of the blessed dead" continues the preceding string of parallel ideas, it seems that some prerogative of an *akh* is to be restored in the lacuna, most likely a noun denoting a food-offering. See F. Friedman, *Akh* 137-138, who discusses the continuing need for food after death. For possible parallels, see *FECT* 39 (*CT I*, 171): "There are established for me the offerings of the gods and the invocation-offerings to the blessed dead." *FECT* 40 (*CT I*, 174)

talks of "blessed ones who attain to food-offerings." *pCairo 86637* rt. 20, 2 has
irt prt-hrw n 3hw: "Make in invocation-offering to the blessed dead."

IV/4, n. W. The noun  3hy: "blessed dead" here refers not to a malevolent being but to one threatened by the forces of disorder and chaos. As such, it parallels the preceding nouns "hungry man ... thirsty man ... naked man ..."

IV/4, n. X. Following the name of Isis are the traces of  , possibly the beginning of the noun  ntr: "goddess." If so, it may have been followed by an adjective like  wrt, the two forming the epithet "great goddess."

IV/5, n. Y. I read *smswt* as an attributive adjective modifying the last word in the lacuna at the end of IV/4. The phrase *s3t Nwt* probably continues the string of epithets of Isis that began in the preceding line.

IV/5, n. Z. The proposed restoration of   nhm Psmtk, ["Save Psamtik] from his enemy...," is partially based on the context and the appearance of the verb *nhm* again at the end of the line in what appears to be a parallel clause. The verb *nhm* here is to be taken here in its second sense: "retten, im Schutz nehmen," *Wb.* II 296, 9-26; it is commonly constructed with the preposition *m-*.

IV/5, n. AA. Although the restoration of   nhm.n.k sw: "...you saved him..." does fit the space available, it is possible that a personal name such as Horus or Osiris should appear here in place of the pronoun  sw: "him," equating the protection of Psamtik with that of a divinity. For a parallel, see *pChester Beatty IX* vs.B.17, 3-4 which has *mi hw.tw nbw p3wwt mi hw.tw 3st s3.s hr hr sn.f 3th* "... as all the primeval gods were protected, as Isis protected her son Horus against his brother Seth." See also *pLeiden I* 343 +345 99 n. 6: "I shall repel every evil or bad thing as [so and so(a god)] protected himself against his

enemies." The writing of the names  *hr*: "Horus" or  *Wsir*: "Osiris" fits the space available at the end of the line following the verb *nhm*.

IV/6, n. BB. The translation of the noun  *3d* as "furious one" is based on the context of the present passage. *Wb.* I 24, 20-22 gives the meaning "der Wütende" or "der Bedrängte" and lists its determinatives as  or . The lack of a determinative other than  (Sign-list I3), however, is typical of the writing of this word in religious and protection texts. The word *3d* occurs in a number of spells in the Book of the Dead where it seems to convey the idea of rage or fury. *BD* 151 has "<Watch out, wake up>, Thou Who Art on the Mountain, for thy power is broken. I have broken (thy) power, (O) rager." See also J.-C. Goyon, *pConfirmation* 8, 5 where *hsf 3d* is given as an epithet of *In-hrt* and is translated as "qui repousee l'agression." For the specific reference of *3d* in the present passage, see IV/6, n. DD below.

The determinative  (Sign-list I3) may also underscore the notion of crocodile that is inherent in this word. A number of texts support such an interpretation here. See, for example, *BD* 72: "Rescue me from the crocodile of this land of righteousness"; *BD* 136: "It is Osiris N. who keeps the crocodile away from Re every day"; and finally *BD* 147: "4th gate is Repulsive of Face, gossiper. The name of its guardian is Alert of Head; the name of the announcer in it is Repeller of the Crocodile." See finally *Urk.* VI where the title of the ritual given at 61, 10 is  *nt-c n hsf 3d*; the noun *3d* is translated there as "Wütende." See, however, at 123, 3 there which has the phrase  *i nhm tw m 3d*, and the translation given is "O weiche zurück als Krokodil," with the alternative rendering of the phrase *m 3d* as "in Wut."

IV/6, n. CC. The direct object pronoun *sw* probably refers to the deity named in the lacuna at the end of IV/5.

IV/6, n. DD. The word  *sm3w* is that given at *Wb.* III 450, 8-9 as

"Bundesgenossen des Seth" or "Bundesgenossen der Feinde des König." A prevalent term in protection texts, it regularly refers to the followers of Seth, to whom the preceding word *3d* appears to refer here.

IV/6, n. EE. The traces of the sign 

IV/6, n. FF. At the end of the line, the restoration of 

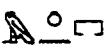
IV/7, n. GG. The restoration of 

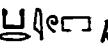
IV/7, n. HH. Restore 

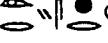
IV/7, n. II. The restoration of pLeiden I 343 + 345 rt. 5, 3 which has *n3 n nt3w hr irt r.k*

shrt. The phrase is perhaps best known as an epithet of Khonsu, for which see D. Meeks, *Genies* 48, 79, and n. 189. G. Posener, *Annuaire du Collège de France* 68 (1968) 401-402, has studied the phrase *iry shrw* in its various contexts. He concludes that the phrase *iry shrw* in connection with a god or gods, designates the divine power to fix and determine the destiny or fate of men. Such a meaning seems well justified in the present passage. For a somewhat different interpretation, see D. Meeks, *RdE* 15 (1963) 44 who, in translating a passage in *pBerlin 3048*, the Hymn to Ptah, in which this phrase appears, renders *ir.k shrw n Imntiw*: "Tu (Ptah) t'es préoccupé des Occidentaux..." It is worth noting that the passage there is followed by *dr.n.k hftiw*: "You have dispelled the enemy." It seems that whatever endowment this phrase designates gives one power over one's enemies and perhaps over the forces of chaos and evil in general.

IV/7, n. JJ. The lacuna at the end of the line, following *sn̄dm ib n*: "who delight the heart of...", likely contained the name of the person(s) to whom *nty*, the relative pronoun and the first word of the next line, refers. At IV/14 below, where a parallel may occur, there is also damage, thus making restoration here difficult. The group *sn̄dm-ib*, "those who delight in," seems best taken as a participle and not an imperative, given its context.

IV/8, n. KK. On the writing  for the compound preposition *m-hnw*: "within", see II/10, n. R above. On the idea of "fixing destiny," see IV/7, n. II above.

IV/8, n. LL. What follows *m-hnw* is  *k3r*: "shrine," a term which occurs again at XI/6 in an undamaged section of the text.

IV/8, n. MM. The restoration of the sign  (Sign-list O1), the determinative of the word *k3r*, seems certain. Since that is the case, there is just enough room as well for the restoration of the phrase  *iry shrw*: "who fix destinies." The

traces of  at the end of the lacuna and the fact that this phrase appears in this spell several times before the prepositional phrase *m-h̄t b*: "throughout the land" make such a restoration very attractive.

IV/8, n. NN. For the writing of the group  with the imperative  *m*: "Come", see *Wb.* II 35, 15-17.

IV/8, n. OO. The two signs before the lacuna at the end of the line appear to be a writing of .

IV/9, n. PP. The unreadable traces at the beginning of the line are probably the vestiges of the last sign or two of the partially preserved verb at the end of the preceding line. The suffix pronoun  would function as its subject, referring back to *ntrw* at the beginning of IV/7.

IV/9, n. QQ. A possible restoration before the prepositional phrase  would be the imperative  *im*: "give."

IV/9, n. RR. For a discussion of the terms *ib* and *ḥty*, see II/8, n. K above.

IV/9, n. SS. A probable restoration here is  *hr st.f* "in its place," based on the context and the parallel at the middle of the line. The space available suits such a restoration. For parallels to the idea of locating the heart in its proper place, see *FECT* 62 (*CT I*, 265): "I have put your heart into your body so that you may remember what you have forgotten;" *pEdwin Smith* 19, 2-14: "Don't take away this *ib*-heart of mine, this *ḥty*-heart of mine for Sakhmet..."; finally, see *Djed-Hor* 83 and n. 2: "He has kept your heart in its place; your heart is under his protection." See also R. Ritner, *Mechanics* 34, who discusses a similar phrase *ib r st.f*, explaining that its basic meaning is "to function correctly." At 34 n. 156 he cites several texts in which the phrase appears with such a meaning. At the end

of this line, the preposition *r* should probably be restored to mark the verbal phrases that follow as purpose clauses.

IV/10, n. TT. The subject pronoun *f* in this phrase and the two that follow most likely refer to Psamtik. *BD* 169 offers something of a parallel to the idea of not going astray: "Authority is in your mouth, your feet have not strayed, and your members have lived on," all referring to the intact and healthy condition of Osiris. It is quite possible that these are statements to the effect that Psamtik is intact and healthy; thus, he can and will withstand the assault of the inimical forces.

IV/10, n. UU. Both the conclusion of the idea begun at the end of IV/8 and the beginning of a new topic are now lost from this lacuna. The verb to be restored at the beginning of the lacuna is a negated verb of motion, paralleling the verbs in the two preceding *nn* clauses, "...he will not go astray, he will not wander..." It is possible that a preposition followed the now-lost verb, introducing the relationship between the verb and the string of malevolent beings that follows. Alternatively, the idea terminates with the missing verb in the lacuna and a new thought follows, introduced by the group  *i*: "O", a vocative addressed to a list of malevolent beings. The traces of the sign  (Sign-list Z6) before the word  *mwt*: "dead male" point to the restoration of         *hft pfy*: "...enemy, fiend..." here. The inclusion of these words is more typical of the extensive vocative phrases in this text than of the shorter lists which follow prepositions or serve as direct objects. Those lists invariably begin with the term  *mwt*: "dead male".

IV/10, n. VV. Assuming that this line continues the thought of IV/8-9, then a restoration of the negative verb  followed by the verb  *ii*: "come" seems likely, or some other similar idea, continuing into the beginning of IV/11.

IV/11, n. WW. Despite the damage to the papyrus, the hieratic writing is clearly  *h^w*: "Masse," *Wb.* I 221, 8-9. Compare a similar spelling at III/13, though lacking the plural strokes there.

IV/11, n. XX. For   *rk^y*: jem. befinden," see *Wb.* II 456, 9-12. A related noun is given at *Wb.* II 456, 18-20 in connection with Seth.

IV/11, n. YY. The lacuna could continue the idea introduced by *nn rk^wf*, perhaps a parallel phrase introduced by *nn*.

IV/11, n. ZZ. The small lacuna that occurs under the group  makes establishing the function of the sign  problematic. It represents either the suffix pronoun subject of the verb *m3*: "see" or the direct object pronoun of that verb, whose subject would then be the group beginning with *mwt mwtt*. The latter seems a more attractive reading. The pronoun *s* would then refer to a noun now lost.

IV/11, n. AB. The restoration of  *mwtt*: "dead female" after *mwt* is probable. Based on the conjectured width of the margin between column IV and column V, it is possible to fit at least the word  , if not one more group of signs.

IV/12, n. AC. The traces at the beginning of the line show  *it* : "seize." It is possible that this word was preceded by the negative  like the preceding verbs. Immediately following  *it*, the group  *rdwy*: "two feet/legs" can be established clearly.  can be seen; the other sign is lost in the hole in the papyrus. If *drt.f* and *smn* are to be taken together, the expected *hr* of the pseudo-verbal construction has been omitted, either inadvertently or as an omission found typically in writings of this construction from the time of Ramesses III onward;

see J. Cerny and S.I. Groll, *LEG* 34. Given the traces  (Sign-list U32), the writing of the verb *smn*: "establish" seems likely. The word that followed *smn* had  (Sign-list D26) as its determinative. The long stroke that originates in the lacuna could simply be the remains of the pronoun . Alternatively, if *smn* is a stative form, the translation would then be "...his hand is firm..." or its equivalent.

IV/12, n. AD. The restoration of the group  *st nb*: "any female" in the lacuna seems likely.

IV/12, n. AE. For a similar but longer list, see *pChester Beatty IX* vs.B.12, 3-4, a book of protection. The invocation there begins with the words *ir rm̄t nb iry p̄t nb rhyt nb h̄mmw nb....*: "As for any man, any patrician, any of the common people, any of the sun people..." In that text, the beings addressed form the group from whom protection is needed.

IV/12, n. AF.    *sm* seems to be the first verb in a series of verbs continuing into the next two lines. The lacuna at the end of the line is a scant 1 cm.

IV/13, n. AG. The traces at the beginning of the line show  or  and the traces of a preceding sign. The damaged and now illegible word here possibly continues the thought begun in the previous line with the verb *sm* or, alternatively, is to be construed with the verbal *irw* that follows.

IV/13, n. AH. The restoration of   *hprw*: "forms" seems possible given the sign  (Sign-list A53) and the allotted space.

IV/13, n. AI. The reading of the word    *hrt-n̄tr*: "god's domain/necropolis" is certain. There is space after the complete writing of this noun for another verbal phrase, traces of whose determinative can be seen at the right hand edge of the next fragment. The group  can be read clearly, the meaning of which depends on the preceding word.

IV/13, n. AJ. The restoration of  *hrt-ntr*: "god's domain/necropolis" at the end of the line seems probable, based on the traces of the sign  (Sign-list R8) and the context.

IV/14, n. AK. The line begins either with the group  *iry*: "who make..." or possibly the group ; the latter reading includes the completion of the writing of the word *hrt-ntr* begun on the previous line.

IV/14, n. AL. On the idea of "fixing destiny," see IV/7, n. II above.

IV/14, n. AM. After the traces that seem to indicate   *wy*: "arms" is a possible reading, giving the phrase "place the arms behind," a standard posture of protection. An alternative would be to read the verb  *h̄c*: "stand" or a word with a similar meaning. *Wb.* III 8, 14 gives the preposition *h̄3* occurring with verbs meaning "to stand" or "to place," yielding the general meaning "schützend hinter jem. stehen, sich hinter jem. stellen."

IV/14, n. AN. Restore the pronouns   at the end of the line after the verb *mkt*, the group yielding the reading "May you protect him..." The whole of this part of the line would read: "Lo, place your arms behind/make yourselves stand behind Psamtik; may you protect him, ..."

IV/15, n. AO. Restore  *n̄hm*: "save" at the beginning of the line.

IV/15, n. AP.  *hsb* is difficult. A word with a negative meaning seems needed here. None of the words at *Wb.* III 166, 11 - 168, 1, written  *hsb* and dealing with calculation and reckoning, seem relevant. *Wb.* III 168, 4 gives a verb  : "schlachten." *Wb.* III 168, 5 has the noun  : "Messer." *Wb.* III 168, 8 lists a word "Wurmer im Leibe?" with the writings  and . None of these words is written with the book-roll determinative  (Sign-list Y1). *Wb.* III 166, 6 gives a verb written  with the meaning "zerbrechen"

and *Wb.* III 166, 7 a related noun spelled  : "Bruch." Finally, see R.O. Faulkner, *CD* 178 for a noun *hsb* written  with the meaning "doom," citing *Urk.* IV, 5, 17. The best example is found at *pLeiden I 346* p. 70 where the word *hsb* occurs in the phrase *hsbt rnpt*. Stricker omits the translation of the term *hsbt* in his rendering "van de _____ des jaars." The present context and the likely presence of the phrase *i3dt nw rnpt* in the lacunae that follow, make a rendering like Faulkner's "doom" most attractive, and it is the one adopted here.

IV/15, n. AQ. Based on the initial  (Sign-list M17) and  at the right hand edge of the left fragment, the reading    *i3dt nw rnpt* should be restored based on *Wb.* II 431, 1 where this group is given as "Not des Jahres = Misswachs, Seuche." The basic discussions of the "epidemic of the year" are J. Yoyotte, *Kêmi* 18 (1968) 82-83; J.-C. Goyon, *Les dieux-gardiens* 187-188; P. Germond, *Sekhmet* 286-304, particularly on the "epidemic of the year" and its connections with the new year and the goddess Sakhmet; C. Leitz, *Tagwählerei* 213-214 and nn.32-36; finally P. Derchain, *CdE* 53 (1978) 51 and 51, n.4 who sees in this phrase a reference to an annual air- or water-borne disease that came with the rise of the Nile. The phrase also occurs in *pEdwin Smith* 18, 15-16; 20, 5-8; *pCairo 58027* 4, 7; *pConfirmation* passim; and *pLeiden I 346* 2, 4; 2, 6; 2, 7; and 2, 11, all of which are texts dealing with protection at the time of the new year. A similar phrase appears commonly in religious and protection texts: *n hm sw m- c ht nbt dw n rnpt tn*: "Save him from every evil thing of this year."

IV/15, n. AR. The group  is *d3d3*. See *Wb.* V 532-533, 4 which gives a word written  and  meaning "feindlich"; "Feind". Such a meaning nicely suits the context here.

IV/15, n. AS. For —  *smm*: "fever." see *Wb.* IV 468, 1-17. The adjective *nb*:

"every" should be restored at the end of the line.

IV/16, n. AT. Restore the group  *hsb*: "doom" at the beginning of the line. It is possible that this word forms a phrase with the preceding term *smm*. See *pLeiden I* 346 70 where the phrase *smm nt hsb t rnpt* occurs, for which see the discussion at IV/15, n. AP.

IV/16, n. AU. Read  *hww*: "to flood" in the lacuna of the middle of the line, based on *Wb.* III 48, 16-22. The verb "to flood" is a semantic specialization of the verb meaning "to strike," at *Wb.* III 46, 1-47, 24, for which see J. Lopez, *RdE* 24 (1972) 111-115. There may be room for *m* before *t3 dr.f* or else the phrase *t3 dr.f* is an unmarked direct object. On the idea of evil coming forth from the mouth, compare *FECT* 165 (*CT* III, 6-8): "I am hale from every ill, that which comes forth from the mouth of any god, any spirit, any dead person in this year"; and *BD* 78: "May you let what has come forth from your mouth against me be reversed." On the association of evil and the inundation which marks the beginning of the new year, see the discussion at IV/15, n. AQ above. The god who floods the land with his mouth is the one who creates the cosmos through the act of spitting, an idea at least as old as the Pyramid Texts. See the remarks of K. Zibelius, *Studien Westendorf* I 399-407, esp, 406-7.

IV/16, n. AV. There is enough room at the end of the line to restore  *ndst*: "small." For an invocation to Enneads elsewhere in this text, see IX/12-13 where they are qualified more specifically and extensively. On the gods who form the great and small Enneads, see W. Barta, *Neunheit* 53-58.

IV/17, n. AW. The sign  (Sign-list Z7) or  (Sign-list G43) should be restored at the beginning of the line as the initial sign of the verb  *wd*: "administer." On

the phrase *wd^c m³t*: "discern what is right/administer justice", see the discussion above at III/15, n. C.

IV/17, n. AX. The restoration of  *wd^c*: "administer" suits the sense and the space available.

IV/17, n. AY. The sign  (Sign-list A24), the determinative of the verb *nwm* "save", should be restored at the end of he line.

IV/18, n. AZ. Traces of the dependent pronoun  *sw*: "him" are present at the beginning of the line.

IV/18, n. BA. After the determinative  (Sign-list A24) of the word *h3pw*, only the two signs  can be seen clearly. The top of what may be a writing of  is can be seen as well. There is a flake of papyrus covering parts of the signs here.

IV/18, n. BB. At the end of the line, the group  *dit*: "given/placed" is clear, but what follows in the lacuna of 1 cm. is lost. 1.5 cm. of papyrus hangs below the writing of this group and is entirely blank, showing clearly that the present line is the final line of column IV. The extensive lacunae at the top of the next column, approximately two lines in length, make the restoration at the end of the present line impossible.

V/1, n. BC. The traces at the beginning of this line show a writing of .

V/1, n. BD. At the middle of the line, the traces suggest the writing of the sign  (Sign-list F31) or  (Sign-list R8A).

V/2, n. BE. On the group    *ss nswt*: "royal linen," see *Wb.* IV 540, IV B and 542, 2-3. The word occurs in *pLeiden 348 I* rt. 8, 6 where it is similarly written and is to be used as the medium upon which a spell is to be written. The same phrase may appear in the demotic magical text *pLouvre E3229* rt. 4, 5 in a list of ingredients in a prescription.

V/2, n. BF.  whm m: "repeated as..." (?) is certain, but its exact meaning cannot be determined due to the lacunae.

V/3, n. BG. For a recent discussion of  ist: "spell," see R.K. Ritner, *Mechanics* 46-47.

V/3, n. BH. Though somewhat damaged, the signs  di r: "placed at" are clear.

V/3, n. BI. The traces of the word  hft: "while" appear after the writing of the word  s: "man."

V/3, n. BJ. The two signs  that occur before the rubric which begins the next spell are probably the vestiges of the writing of hrw: "day."

TRANSLATION WITH COMMENTARY OF SPELL F

(COLUMN V, 3 - 11)

(P. BROOKLYN 47.218.49)

3.*Another Spell.*^A Hail to you, *giw-plant*,^B
4. O *giw-plant*^C that comes forth [... 6 cm. ...]^D strong (?)^E upon a tooth (?)^F first (?)^G
[... 4 cm. ...]
5. Osiris to dispel a dead male, dead female [... 6 cm. ...]^H male adversary, female
adversary who [... 4 cm. ...]
6. who trembles (?)^I in his limbs' [... 5.5 cm. ...] part of the ear^K of this head [... 4 cm.
...]
7. this his [...]^L of a *giw-plant*.^M [... 5.5 cm. ...] I came into being in Heliopolis^N [... 4
cm. ...]
8. this^O [...] I am in the West [...] come into being [... 5.5 cm. ...] of my limbs which
... you [... 4 cm. ...] trem-
9. -bling^P throughout the limbs^Q [...] which [... 5.5 cm. ...] men, gods, [... 2 cm. ...]^R
10. passing^S from him. Hail to you *giw-plant* (?)^T[... 3 cm ...]*Recite*^U four times.^V
Remedies (?)^W placed at [... 2 cm. ...]^X bee^Y (and)
11. a worm^Z ground finely^{AA} over a band^{BB} [... 5 cm. ...] [(and) placed] at the ear.^{RR}

COMMENTARY

General Remarks: The lacunae make the establishment of the text and its meaning highly problematic. Some error in the placement of the three fragments that form this column was made during or soon after the unrolling of the papyrus. They have been tentatively placed in what I believe is the correct proportional distance from one another. See the discussion at p. 7 above.

V/3, n. A. The rubrics *ky r3*: "Another spell" marks the beginning of a new section.

There are no rubrics terminating the preceding section. See II/6 for a parallel to such a writing.

V/3, n. B. Two small fragments have been placed at the left edge of this column.

Though they do not provide the final signs of the line due to their damaged condition, the signs that can be read show that they represent what is left of the end of these lines. The initial signs of the word *giw*-plant can be read here. For a discussion of that term see V/4, n. C that follows.

V/4, n. C. On the *giw*-plant, see *Wb.* V 157, 11-158, 11 and *WbDN* 533-537. Two different words are discussed in the latter. One is usually spelled *git*, and the other *giw*. Both words show a wide range of writings, and may be virtually indistinguishable under some circumstances. The word in the present line is clearly written -. The word appears again at V/7 where the writing appears to be similar to that given here, but the text has suffered some damage there. *WbDN* 534 states that *git* is found as an external medicant only in *pEbers*, citing seven occurrences of the word in that text with five different writings.

WbDN 536-537 states that *giw* represents *Cyperus rotundus* and *Cyperus esculentus*, both technical terms indicating the sedge plant. See L. Manniche, *An Ancient Egyptian Herbal* 43 and 98, who equates *giw* with *Cyperus esculentus* alone, citing Theophrastus, according to whom *giw* is only a food. She gives no references to the use of *giw* as a medicant. See J.F. Borghouts, *pLeiden I* 348 rt. 10, 8 where it is written - and is translated as "cypress plants," without commentary. It also occurs in that text at rt. 10, 4, qualified by the phrase *hr hst*, and the whole group is rendered "g3fw of the oasis" with commentary at 112-113, n.235. F. Jonckheere, *Le papyrus medical Chester Beatty* 18, n.5, enumerates the

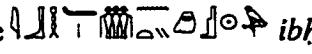
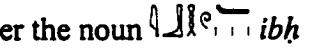
different kinds of "giw-plants". R. Germer, *Flora des pharaonischen Ägyptens* 248, however, claims that the Egyptians used the term *giw* to describe two different plants, one with an edible, oil-bearing tuberous root, the other a weed with an inedible but aromatic root. The problem of determining which term is employed here is compounded by the fact that the word does not occur here in a prescription but in the body of a spell for protection. I have found only one occurrence of the *giw*-plant in a text other than medical. *FECT* 112 (*CT II*, 129) has the statement: "My heart gives the *giw*-plant to Atum," following the statement that "your sting is in your tail," the latter phrase an apparent reference to a scorpion. The context of that passage, then, suggests that the *giw*-plant was considered to have medical and protective properties. Whatever the case may be, the lacunae in the text make it unclear what the exact sense of the term *giw* is here.

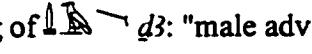
V/4, n. D. A uniform lacuna of approximately 6 cm. runs the length of the column here, based on a conjectured width of 19 cm. for the entire column.

V/4, n. E. The sign  (Sign-list T12) seems to be what is written here, formed as it appears later at VIII, 16. Its meaning and relationship with the signs that follow are not clear.

V/4, n. F. The word  *ibh* is given at *Wb.* I 64, 2-4 with the basic meaning "Zahn." The term *ibh* does appear in conjunction with the *giw*-plant at *pEbers* 83, 5 (*Eb* 663), a prescription for treating disorders of the abdomen. T. Bardinet, *Dents* 79-80 discusses this passage but notes that the meaning of the phrase *ibh n gyt* remains obscure. See also R. Germer, *Arzneimittelpflanzen* 340, where she states that *ibh* is part of the plant "Stachel, Dorn." Due to the poorly preserved

nature of the papyrus, it is unclear whether a direct connection exists between these two terms in the present passage. Also, see V/4, n. G following.

V/4, n. G. It is possible that the word *hnty* modifies the preceding word *ibḥ* forming the phrase  *ibḥw hntyw* "first teeth.". See S. Sauneron, *Traité*, 56-58 for the occurrence of a phrase  *ibḥ hnty Wsir* at line 2, 21 in a spell recited against the poison of a snake bite. He gives the translation "dent primitive d'Osiris," seeing in it a reference to one of the "milk teeth" of the god when young. Its role in that spell is directed against the bite and teeth of the malignant force, namely the poison of the snake which has bitten the victim. The phrase occurs as well in *pBrooklyn 47.218.138* 14, 18 (unpublished). Again, given the lacunae in the present passage, it is impossible to determine whether the noun  *ibḥ* refers to part of a plant, for which see V/4, n. F preceding, or alludes to a role played by the teeth of a divinity in an obscure myth.

V/5, n. H. The hieratic traces before the writing of  "male adversary" are too poor to suggest anything. It is quite possible that a verb, now lost, occurred in the lacuna, parallel in meaning to the preceding verb *dr*. This part of the line then would read something like, "...to repel dead male, dead female, [to subdue] male adversary, female adversary who ..." The difficulty raised by such a restoration is that the lacuna here is considerable, approximately 6 cm. The lacuna is large enough to have continued with *hft pft* after the group *mwt mwtt* and before the occurrence of a now lost verb. There is no parallel for this construction elsewhere in the present text, but examples from *pBrooklyn 47.218.87*, an unpublished book of protection, also lacunae-ridden, can be cited where that order of words occurs a number of times.

V/6, n. I. On the term $\Delta \Delta \times \Delta$ *ddf*, *Wb.* V 634, 4-6 cites this word as a verb meaning "zeichen des Furcht," schaudern." The writings given there are $\Delta \Delta$ and $\Delta \Delta \Delta$. The word is not listed in *WbMT*. The word occurs in *pLouvre 3233 A-B II*, a text also connected with protection, for which see J.-C. Goyon, *BIFAO* 77 (1977) 45-54, pl. 15 and esp. 50, n. 3; see also D. Meeks, *BIFAO* 79 (1979) 103-119, pl. 38-39, for the publication of *pDeM 37*, a copy of the Louvre text just cited, and his comments on the term *ddfy* at 106-7, n. a. The only problem here is that the meaning of the word given by the *Wörterbuch* suits the present context but the determinatives $\times \Delta$ are unattested. The same verb apparently occurs at V/10-11 below as well.

V/6, n. J. Despite damage to the surface of the papyrus, the group $\Delta \Delta \Delta \Delta$ 'wt: "limbs" can be read with certainty.

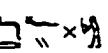
V/6, n. K. The group $\Delta \Delta \Delta \Delta$ suggest the word $\Delta \Delta \Delta \Delta$ *grit* given by *Wb.* V 181, 7 and *WbMT* 921 with the meaning "[Teil des Ohres]." The same word is cited by *Wb.* V 174 with the variant writing $\Delta \Delta \Delta \Delta$ *gnit*. The term occurs in *pEdwin Smith* 7, 14 (*Sm Fall* 19) in the phrase *grit nt msdr.f.* where Breasted translates it as "orifice of his ear." If the word to be read here is *gnit*, the sign Δ (Sign-list T19) could be understood as a phonographic determinative, as this sign is a common phonogram for *gn*. The restoration of this term here is attractive and would make sense in this text, despite the difficulty encountered in the restoration of the present passage.

V/7, n. L. The traces of *f* at the beginning of the line suggest that the last word of the preceding line was a noun or a verb, now lost.

V/7, n. M. On the *giw*-plant, see V/6, n. C above.

V/7, n. N. The group  *hpr n i* can be read either as "I came into being in Heliopolis," or "... come(s) into being for me in Heliopolis." *BD* 115 makes reference to a number of deities created in Heliopolis as does *BD* 125. See J.-C. Goyon, *pConfirmation* 95, n. 105 on Heliopolis as the royal birth place *par excellence*.

V/8, n. O. The traces of what appears to be the demonstrative *tn* can be seen at the beginning of the line.

V/9, n. P. The traces at the end of line 8 and the beginning of line 9 indicate the writing of  *ddf*, the same verb that occurs at V/6. See the discussion at V/6, n. I above.

V/9, n. Q. The traces after the preposition  *m-hr*: "throughout", though damaged, clearly show , suggesting the restoration of the word "*wt*: "limbs."

V/9, n. R. There are only a few illegible traces at the end of the line.

V/10, n. S. For the group  *d3i*, *Wb.* V 514, 4 gives a verb, employing the preposition *m*, with the meaning "feindlich jemandem entgegenstrecken." See also *Wb.* V 514, 14-16 which gives the same verb  used with the reflexive pronoun to mean "sich feindlich in dem Weg stellen" and followed by the preposition *m* introducing a person, disease or path. Finally, *Wb.* V 514, 17 gives the same construction and meaning without the reflexive pronoun.

V/10, n. T. The traces following the group  *ind hr.k*: "Hail to you..." show the signs , suggesting the restoration of  *giv*, the plant-name that appears at V/4 and V/7 above.

V/10, n. U. The rubric possibly began with the phrase  *dd mdw hr*: "Words to be recited over..."

- V/10, n. V. There is damage to the surface of the papyrus but the reading ^④ sp-4: "four times" seems to be written here. For a parallel to *dd mdw sp-4* in this text, see VIII/18 below.
- V/10, n. W.  is undoubtedly *phrt*: "remedies," given at *Wb.* I 549, 1-12.
- V/10, n. X. The lacuna ends with the suffix pronoun , possibly the subject of a verb, now lost.
- V/10, n. Y. For , *Wb.* I 182, 10 gives 'fy: "die Biene," written with the determinative  (Sign-list L2). *WbDN* 87-88 cites the word as 'ff and gives a number of writings, all of which have  (Sign-list G41) as the determinative. It occurs at *pEbers* 74, 14 (*Eb* 576) in connection with 'pnnt, the word that follows in the present text. On the mythological origins of the bee, see *pSalt* 825 II, 5 where it is stated that it was created from the tears of Re.
- V/11, n. Z. On the term  'pnnt, see *Wb.* I 180, 6-7 and *WbDN* 84-86 where it is translated as "Art Wurm oder Schlange." The word occurs in *pEbers* 74, 14 (*Eb* 576) in connection with 'ff, "fly," a word related to 'fy, the preceding word in this text. According to the *Wörterbuch* entry, 'pnnt is written in a number of instances with the determinative  (Sign-list F27) or  (Sign-list I14). See the discussion given at *WbDN* 84-86 of the different meanings assigned to the word 'pnnt by different scholars and for the relevant sources cited there. It is found in prescriptions to be ingested as well as in dressings to be applied locally.
- V/11, n. AA. On the term  'nd snc: "ground finely," see III/14, n. AB above.
- V/11, n. BB. The group  appears to be the noun given at *Wb.* III 166, 4 with the meaning "Faden; Schnur."
- V/11, n. CC. The traces before  msdr: "ear" seem to indicate the writing of  di(w) r: "placed at..." though there is damage to the surface of the papyrus. For a

parallel to the phrase *di r msdr* placed at the end of a remedy and spell, see VIII/6 below. The rubrics that follow *r msdr* most likely begin a new spell though they are very faint and difficult to read.

TRANSLATION WITH COMMENTARY OF SPELL G₁

(COLUMN V, 11 - VI, 12)

(P. BROOKLYN 47.218.49)

11. *A book for driving off^A*
12. [.]^B *dead male, dead female from the ear* [... 2 cm. ...]^C [... 5 cm. ...] *compilation of prescriptions^D of^E Thoth^F* [... 1.5 cm. ...] in order to^G
13. *annihilate^H [the rebels]* [... 5 cm. ...]^I [O]^J one numerous of forms,^K overpower them^L (?) [... 1.5 cm. ...] their [...]^M O one who makes
14. his body from his secrets.^N O holy [... 5 cm. ...] his two arms.^O O^P one who does [what is right]^Q in the Barque
15. of Millions.^R O one who opens his eye,^S who does [... 5 cm. ...] skin^T of the great head (?)^U [... 1 cm. ...] O Atum
16. one who provides for his own needs.^V O robber^W [... 5.5 cm. ...] O long-faced one^X(?) who has no effective means^Y(?)
17. O time^Z when the harpoons^{AA} (?) poured down (?)^{BB} [... 5.5 cm.] Seth^{CC} who makes raging. O [... 1 cm. ...] of many heads (?)^{DD}
18. who conceals his secret name.^{EE} O [... 5.5 cm. ...] of his father. O one great of Ba's^{FF} [...] from secret ...^{GG}

COLUMN VI

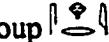
1. [... 1.5 cm. ...] occasion^{HH} [... 7 cm. ...] which comes forth from the book-roll (?)^{II} [... 7 cm. ...]
2. [... 1.5 cm. ...] his name.^{II} O Lord of [... 3 cm. ...] who has made his name^{KK} (?) concealed [... 4 cm. ...]
3. [... 1.5 cm. ...] heaven [...].^{LL} O one who shakes the earth.^{MM} O [one who shakes] heaven.^{NN} O one who places^{OO} the crew who makes^{QQ} [... 3 cm. ...]

4. [... 1.5 cm. ...]^{pp} O one who appeases the Two Companions^{qq} in the Barque^{rr} [... 3 cm. ...] himself.^{ss} He is not known. O children^{tt} [... 3 cm. ...]
5. his [... 1.5 cm. ...]^{uu} O life of sun-folk,^{vv} he [... 3 cm. ...]. Remove him to heaven.^{ww} O^{xx} [... 3 cm. ...]
6. He [is not known].^{yy} O many amulets (?)^{zz} of flames (?)^{aa} [... 3 cm. ...] stab^{ac} the violent one.^{ad} O [... 3 cm. ...]
7. [... 1.5 cm. ...] hearts.^{ae} O one who brings the land into order,^{af} who makes (her) name^{ag}[... 3 cm. ...] that she does.^{ah} O one who establishes Maat^{ai} in the fore [of the barque of Re] (?)^{aj}
8. [... making]^{ak} her protection^{al} (by) making death^{am} therefrom. O children (?)^{an} [... 3 cm. ...] one great of terror.^{ao} O violent one^{ap} [... 1.5 cm. ...] (?)
9. her [... 1.5 cm. ...]^{aq} Wepset.^{ar} O one whose forms are numerous^{as} [... 3 cm. ...] O first occasion of raging.^{at} O violent [one]^{au}
10. [... 1.5 cm. ...]^{av} O one who does what is right,^{aw} child of Nut^{ax} [... 3 cm. ...]^{ay} for the heart of her lord. O one who goes [... 2 cm. ...]^{az}
11. [... 1.5 cm. ...] O one who makes the night (whose) name (?) is Osiris^{ba} [... 3 cm. ...] this... of hers in her following. O [... 2 cm. ...]
12. [... 1.5 cm. ...]^{bb} O one who makes rage (?),^{bc} O one who goes and comes^{bd} [... 3 cm. ...] with her. O one who makes her name, clothes in her two arms.^{be}

COMMENTARY V, 11 - VI, 12

General Remarks: On the placement of the fragments for column V and the width of the lacunae, see the discussion at p. 6 above. The present section, designated as Spell G₁, is not a separate spell, but the introduction of a longer spell. Given that this part of the text is a protracted series of apostrophes and that it is riddled with

lacunae, I have chosen to treat it separately. The apostrophes encountered here consist of epithets and, occasionally, specific names that serve to identify the deities invoked. Many of the epithets consist of the participle *iry* followed by a substantive, the whole yielding: "O one who makes/does X..." The badly damaged state of the papyrus compounds the difficulty of establishing a clear reading and understanding of these epithets. *pLeiden I 348* and *pChester Beatty* provide some parallels in lists of enemies who are addressed by means of epithets and phrases of personification and not directly by name. In those texts, however, it is the malign forces that are invoked and then told that they will not succeed in their attempts to assail the patient. In the present text, the beings invoked have protective powers and are asked to come to the aid of the patient.

V/11, n. A. The spell begins with the word  *md3t*: "book-roll." What apparently follows is the preposition *r*, after which the group  can be read with certainty. *Wb.* IV 219, 9-220, 12 and 226, 5-16 gives a verb *shri* whose basic meaning is "entfernen."

V/12, n. B. The traces at the beginning of the line show the signs  and  (Sign-list A24), the determinative of the verb *shri* written at the end of V/11.

V/12, n. C. Due to the faded state of the rubrics and damage to the surface of the papyrus, the reading of the signs that follow  *msdr*: "ear" cannot be established. A group of approximately three signs, occupying 2 cm., was written here.

V/12, n. D. The word  *dm3t* is the noun given at *Wb.* V 462, 9 with the meaning "Sammelwerk (von Receptsammlungen)." See W. Helck, *MÄS* 31 (1974) 132, who supports the general meaning "Summe." *WbMT* 980 cites five occurrences of this word in the medical texts. S. Sauneron, *Traité* 53-54 gives further relevant citations and bibliography.

V/12, n. E. Following the writing of *dmdt*, the group  *nt* is to be read as the indirect genitive marker.

V/12, n. F. For the writing of the name  *dhwty*: "Thoth" in black ink within a rubric, see G. Posener, *JEA* 35 (1949) 77-81. Curiously, the conjunction  *r* is written in black ink in the middle of a rubric as well. Quite possibly this is nothing more than an error made by the scribe who forgot to return to red ink after writing the name of Thoth. The name Thoth in connection with the noun *dmdt* also occurs in *pEbers* 1, 9 (*Eb* 1).

V/13, n. H.  *shtm* is given at *Wb.* IV 223, 10-224, 7 with the meaning "vernichten." It appears quite commonly in protection texts. The word occurs in *pmedBerlin* 8, 8 (*Bln* 99) with the noun *hft*: "enemy" as its direct object. See also *pChester Beatty VIII* vs.4, 8-11 and vs. 15, 3; it occurs as well in a parallel to that text, a Ramesside papyrus in Turin, for which see A. Roccati, *Aegyptus* 44 (1969) 5-13. See as well *pBM 10209* I, 16 and J. Zandee, *Amunhymnus* 299, n. 394. See finally J.-C. Goyon, *pConfirmation* I, 18 and especially 90, n. 65 where he states that the writing of the group  represents a faulty determinative for the root *htm*, a common error in Late Period texts.

V/13, n. I. Following the word *shtm*: 'annihilate,' there occurs a hole in the papyrus, 1 cm. in width, followed by a group of approximately five signs occupying a space of 3.5 cm. and written in rubrics. Only  can be read with certainty. The noun  *sbiw*: "rebels" is a likely restoration.

V/13, n. J. The restoration of  *i*: "O" before the adjective  *s3*: "numerous" seems likely.

V/13, n. K. The word  *msw* appears to be "Gestalt...eines Gottes": *Wb.* II 141, 14. For a parallel to the phrase *s3 msw*: "one numerous of manifestations," see

the *Wörterbuch Belegstellen* II 209, 14 which cites *nbt msw* ‘**š3 hprw**': "...lord of forms, one numerous of manifestations..." on an unnumbered stele in Turin and in TT 3. For a discussion of the verb *msw* and its range of meanings and their relationship, see J. Zandee, "The Birth-giving Creator God in Ancient Egypt," *Studies in Pharaonic Religion and Society* (London 1992) 169-185.

V/13, n. L. The reading of the group **† šm** *shm*: "overpower" is certain despite the damage to the papyrus.

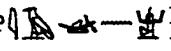
V/13, n. M. The pronoun **ḥ̄.sn** should be taken as an object pronoun or as a suffix pronoun subject of the verb that precedes it.

V/14, n. N. For the phrase **‐‐‐‐‐** *ir dt.f m-‘ št3w.f*: "...who makes his body from his secrets...", *pmagHarris* IV, 2-3 may offer a parallel in the phrase *št3w irw*: "...one secret of forms...", an epithet of a deity; see also A. Klassens, *SocBehague* 108, n. 186. For a relevant discussion on the nature of divine bodies, see D. Meeks and C. Favard-Meeks, *Daily Life* 53-60, esp 55.

V/14, n. O. **‐‐‐‐‐**, *g3bw*, *Wb.* V 154, 1-5: "der Arm" is fairly certain here. It is cited there as a late writing of **‐‐‐‐‐** *gb3*, *Wb.* V 163, 4-12 which gives the same meaning.

V/14, n. P. The single sign **‐** (Sign-list A26) is given as a variant writing of **‐‐‐‐‐** *i*: "O," the vocative marker by *Wb.* I 25; it is the only occurrence of such a writing in this papyrus.

V/14, n. Q. Based on the traces of the sign **‐** (Sign-list H6) at the right hand edge of the third fragment of this column, the restoration of the epithet **‐‐‐‐‐** *iry m3t* seems likely. For the phrase *iry m3t*: "one who does what is right," see *Wb.* II 20, 3-4 and J. Assmann, *Maât* 124.

V/14-15, n. R. The phrase  *wi3 n hh*: "barque of millions" is given at *Wb.* I 271, 11. As the name of one of the solar barques in which the sun-god makes his nightly journey, it has been called the "barque of millions," a reference to the number of dead accompanying the sun-god on his nightly journey, for which see E. Hornung, *Amduat* II 20. Alternatively the phrase has been understood to have a temporal sense and is translated "barque of millions of years," for which see A. Piankoff, *LN* 56. For its occurrence elsewhere in protection texts, see, for example, *pLeiden I* 343+345 vs. 9, 10-11 and 109, n. 16; and *SocBehague* 26 c4.

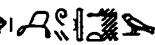
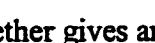
V/15, n. S. The group  *wpt irt.f.*: "One who opens his eye" recalls the phrase *wpt irty*: "to open the eyes," given at *Wb.* I 300, 7, a reference to a ceremony performed on mummies and statues, one analogous to the Opening of the Mouth ceremony. The determinative  (Sign-list G7) in the writing of the word *irt*: "eye," suggests a possible mythological allusion, either to Thoth who healed the damaged eye of Horus or to Horus himself who opened his damaged eye after it was restored.

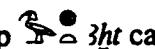
V/15, n. T. Based on the signs , a probable restoration is the noun  *inm* given at *Wb.* I 96, 14-20 with the meaning "die Haut des Körpers."

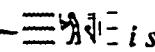
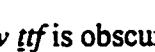
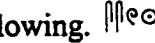
V/15, n. U. Understanding the group  *tp 3*: "great head" and its relationship to what precedes or follows is difficult due to the lacunae here.

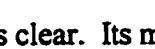
V/16, n. V. On the epithet , *iry hrwt.f.*: "who provides for his own needs," see *Wb.* III 391, 1-3 which gives a meaning "für jemds. Bedarf an Speisen sorgen." As an epithet for the god Atum, whose self-sufficiency is well-known, this phrase is apt.

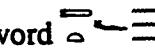
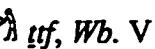
V/16, n. W. The word  'w3y: "robber" is a nominal form or participle of the word(s) given at *Wb.* I 171, 3-21.

V/16, n. X. The group  presents problems. Reading the signs   together gives an epithet "long-faced one" which is not attested by the *Wörterbuch* or by any other source to my knowledge. Due to the fragmentary nature of the papyrus, it is difficult to determine what was intended here.

V/16, n. Y. The meaning of the group   cannot be established, due to the preceding lacuna. In light of the vocative marker at the beginning of the next line, this word must terminate an epithet.

V/17, n. Z. The sense of    *i sw tf* is obscure. See the discussion here and at V/17, nn. AA and V/17, n. BB immediately following.  *sw* is the noun given at *Wb.* IV 57, 8-58 with the meaning "die Zeit." *Wb.* IV, 58, 2-4 gives another noun, similarly written, with the meaning "Monatstag." J.P. Allen, *Middle Egyptian*, 103, n.6 says that *sw* is a technical term meaning "day of the month."

V/17, n. AA.  *ksw* is clear. Its meaning here can be either ""harpoons" or "bones." See the discussion at V/17, n. BB immediately following.

V/17, n. BB. For the word   *tf*, *Wb.* V 412,11-413,2 gives a verb, offering the basic meanings "ausgiessen" and "ausschütten." Of particular interest is the citation given at *Wb.* V 412,16 where the verb is used in the phrase "das Blut der Feinde vergiessen;" see further at *Wb.* V 412, 23 where *tf* is cited as "den Fluss mit dem Blut der Feinde." R.O. Faulkner, *CD* 308, gives a meaning "flow down," citing *Urk.* IV 502, 5 and a further meaning "overflow," citing *pPrisse* 7, 8 and *Peas.* B 1, 294. See also J. Borghouts, *pLeiden* I 348 rt. 13, 4 and n. 310, on the occurrence of the verb *tf* with *ib* as its direct object; he offers the

translation "confuses the heart," stating that it literally means "to make the heart brim over," presumably with fear. The word also appears in *pTurin* 54003 rt. 13, for which see J. Borghouts, *AEMT* 91 (137), who offers the meaning "scatter" in his translation of that passage. See further *pAnastasi* 4 10, 7 where *ttf* occurs in a description of the inundation. Commenting on the latter passage, R. Caminos, *CLEM* 175, suggests the translation "pour out"; "overflow." Given the numerous lacunae in the present passage, the sense required here remains somewhat elusive.

The noun written  *ksw* may mean be translated as "harpoons." The verb *ttf* is used metaphorically of weapons "raining down" on one's enemies. See *Edfu* III 255, 15 and VI 83, 8-9 and 64, 5 for such a usage. Perhaps a restoration like "O time of the harpoons raining down on [... and] Seth" is warranted. Furthermore, if the word *ksw* means "harpoons," then a meaning like "the harpoons brimming over [with blood]" is also possible. The apparent writing of the name of the god Seth just after the lacuna makes a conjectured reading like "O time of the harpoons brimming over [with the blood of] Seth" attractive. See *Edfu* II 75, 2; V 186, 13-14; VII 151, 15, and VIII 11, 11 for examples conveying such an idea. Alternatively, if *ksw* means "bones," then a notion like "bones brimming over [with fear]," akin to our idea of being "terrified to the core," is possible.

V/17, n. CC. Traces of the sign  (Sign-list E21) are evident before the epithet *iry nsny*. The preceding lacuna offers ample room for the phonetic writing of Seth as well as a vocative marker. It is possible that the phrase "...Se]th who makes raging..." is to be taken with the three words that occur at the beginning of the line.

V/17, n. DD. It is unclear whether the words  tpw: "heads" and  s3w: "many" go together. At the beginning of the next line, the phrase   imn rn.f: "whose name is concealed" appear to be a single group; note, however, that there are plural strokes preceding the group  imn. They do not belong to the writing of the word s3w whose plural strokes are written below the sign  (Sign-list II). Traces of at least one sign can be seen at the end of the preceding line, what is left of the writing of the word to which these plural strokes belong.

V/18, n. EE. On the idea of hidden names, see the discussion at VI/14, n. D below.

V/18, n. FF. The phrase  wr b3w: "great of Ba's" is found in texts as early as the Old Kingdom as an epithet of gods, kings, and even royal regalia. See L. Zabkar, *Ba Concept* 55-67.

V/18, n. GG. It is not clear how the phrase  m- st3: "from secrets" at the end of this line fits with what precedes it. There is enough room for a writing of  iry: "one who makes..." or  i iry: "O one who makes..." but not much else. A possible restoration is i iry m- st3w: "O one formed from his secrets...", a variation of the phrase that occurs in V/14 above, i ir dt.f m- st3w: "O one who fashions his body from his secrets." In that case, the verbal iry is passive.

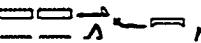
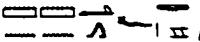
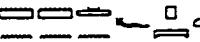
VI/1, n. HH. The traces before the sign  (Sign-list O50) point to the restoration of  sp: "occasion." This writing compares favorably with that of the same word found at VI/9 below.

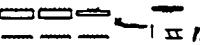
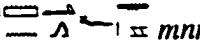
VI/1, n. II. The traces at the beginning of the break seem to be vestiges of  md3t: "book; book-roll."

VI/2, n. JJ. The reading of  rn.f: "his name" is beyond question, based on the hieratic traces. That noun phrase was possibly the object of a participial form, now lost from the beginning of the line.

VI/2, n. KK. At the end of the lacuna, the group  can be read. Reading the signs

 as a writing of the word *rn*: "name" is possible despite the lack of the determinative  (Sign-list A2). The noun seems to have been written elsewhere in the papyrus without the determinative. See VI/11, n.BA below.

VI/3, n. LL. The first word of this line that can be read is  pt: "heaven." At IX/11 below, the phrase  *mnnmn.f hrt*: "one who shakes heaven" immediately precedes the phrase  *mnnmn.f t3*: "one who shakes the earth," the phrase that follows here as well. Thus, a possible restoration here is  *mnnmn n.f pt*: "one for whom heaven shakes." See VI/3, n. MM following.

VI/3, n. MM. The group  presents several problems. *Wb.* II 80-81, 1-15 cites a verb *mnnmn* with the meaning "sich bewegen; etw. fortbewegen;" the determinatives given there are  , both of which occur in the writing of this verb at IX/10-11 below. The *Wörterbuch* does not give the book-roll determinative  (Sign-list Y1) in the list of possible determinatives. One can read *mnnmn* as a participle followed by a dative or as a *sdm.n.f* relative form: *mnnmn.n.f*: "he who has trampled..." A similar phrase occurs at IX/10-11 below, where it is written  *mnnmn.f t3*, in what appears to be a *sdm.f* relative form. If the two phrases are the same, despite the differences in writing, then the meaning of *mnnmn* here is "shake," based on the meaning given at *Wb.* II 81, 5. "schwanken (von der Erde). See the discussion at IX/11, n. J below.

VI/3, n. NN. The lacuna ends with what is probably the vestiges of the writing of either  *hrt*: "heaven" or possibly  *pt*: "heaven," although the former seems more likely as *pt* is written  elsewhere in this text. The restoration of *mnnmn.n.f* is based on the parallel at IX/11 below.

VI/3, n. OO. The translation of  wd as "place" is based on the sense required.

VI/3, n. PP. The hieratic here seems to be a writing of  ist, the noun given at *Wb.* I 127, 11-19 with the basic meaning "Gruppe." See J. Zandee, *Amunhymnus* III, 2, where ist is similarly written. A similar writing appears at VII/5 below with one fewer vertical stroke; see VII/5, n. ZZ below. "Crews" of gods occur frequently in the Book of the Dead. The term ist also occurs in the texts of the Edfu temple as a designation of guardian gods, for which see J.-C. Goyon, *Les dieux-gardiens* 20, n. 6 and 43, n. 8.

VI/4, n. QQ. There is enough room at the beginning of the line to restore  i htp: "O one who appeases..." The noun  rhwy is that given at *Wb.* II 441, 13-15 with the meaning "die beiden Genossen," referring to Horus and Seth. The phrase htp rhwy "Appeaser of the Two Companions" may be an epithet of Thoth, the god who traditionally played the role of separating and appeasing the two gods after their cosmic conflict. The more familiar epithet is  wp rhwy: "die Beiden trennen," given at *Wb.* II 441, 14.

VI/4, n. RR. The hieratic signs point to a reading and restoration like m wi3 n R^c.

VI/4, n. SS. The phrase dsf: "himself" refers to the name of some male deity now lost from the preceding lacuna or the beginning of the line.

VI/4, n. TT. The lack of a determinative for the word  msw, due to the lacuna, makes the translation "children" provisional. Its meaning here could be "forms," a meaning which is found at V/13 above; note, however, that there the word msw is preceded by the adjective s3w: "many."

VI/5, n. UU. The traces at the beginning of the line show . I can offer no suggestions for restoring this lacuna.

VI/5, n. VV. The noun  *hnmm̄t* is given at *Wb.* III 114, 6-13 with the basic meaning "Menschheit." A.H. Gardiner, *AEO* I, 111*-112* remains the definitive discussion.

VI/5 n. WW. For the translation of the phrase  *itt r:* as "remove to" (a place), see R. Caminos, *JEA* 58 (1972) 222 and Column B, l. 15. It is unclear to whom the pronoun *sw* refers.

VI/5, n. XX. The restoration of the sign  (Sign-list A2) after the sign  (Sign-list M17) seems warranted.

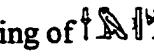
VI/6, n. YY. The traces before the group  point to the possible restoration of  *rh:* "know." Compare the writing of   *nn rh.tw.f:* "he is not known" at VI/4 above.

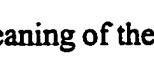
VI/6, n. ZZ. The translation of  *wdʒwt* as "amulets" is provisional. The lack of the determinative  or  mitigates against seeing in this word a writing a writing of the name of the goddess Wadjet. Alternatively, it could be the word given at *Wb.* I 404, 2 which gives  as a Late Egyptian writing of the noun *dʒt*, "der Rest." I can make little sense of its meaning here.

VI/6, n. AB. The traces just before the break yield  *nbi*, possibly the beginning of any of the words associated with fire given at *Wb.* II 244, 3-14.

VI/6, n. AC. The phrase   *ds shm-ib* may have been intended as an epithet here, such as "one who stabs the violent one." If this is the case, then the group  *ds* may be the verb given at *Wb.* V 487, 2-3 with the meaning "schneiden." The epithet  *ds shm* is given as a name of one of the guardian gods in the Edfu texts, for which see J.-C. Goyon, *Les dieux-gardiens* 88. The particle *i:* "O" after *shm-ib* indicates that a new idea begins after the phrase *ds shm-ib*. See the discussion at VI/6, n. AD immediately following.

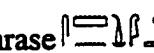
VI/6, n. AD. The group  *shm-ib* is possibly the phrase given at *Wb.* IV 246, 16-17 with the meaning "kühn; dreist;" see, in particular IV 246, 16 for its use as a divine epithet. Alternatively it could be a writing of the verb *shmh* given at *Wb.* IV 252, 10-253, 7 with the meaning "sich belustigen." It occurs again at VI/8 below.

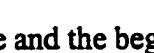
VI/7, n. AE. There is space for the writing of  *shm* in the lacuna before  *ibw*, if the writing of *shm-ib* was intended here. See VI/6, n. AD above.

VI/7, n. AF. For the meaning of the phrase  *smn t3*: "bring the land into order," see *Wb.* IV 134, 1.

VI/7, n. AG. The restoration of  *rn.s*: "her name" is possible, based on the traces and the occurrence of the suffix pronoun *.s* later in the line.

VI/7, n. AH. The group  *ir.s* appears directly before a vocative marker, thus indicating that this group ends a vocative phrase. It is possibly a relative form, modifying the preceding word now lost in the lacuna, and should be translated "...what she does." Alternatively, it may be a participial phrase meaning "who makes herself."

VI/7, n. AI. For the phrase  *smn m3t*: "one who establishes Maat" used in this sense, see *Wb.* IV 133, 27.

VI/7, n. AJ. Given the traces at the beginning of the lacuna, a possible restoration at the end of this line and the beginning of the next is  *n wi3 n R*: "in the fore of the barque of Re."

VI/8, n. AK. The traces before the word  *mkt*: "protection" suit the writing of  *ir*: "make/do."

VI/8, n. AL. The suffix pronoun  *.s* refers to the female deity addressed here.

VI/8, n. AM. The epithet  *iry mwt*: "one who makes death" is used in association with the malign aspect of lion-headed goddesses. See *Edfu* I 510, 18 and VI 266, 3. See also the discussion by P. Germond, *Sekhmet* 52-53; 93, n. 40; P. Derchain, *Elkab* I 24-25.

VI/8, n. AN. On the possible meanings of the word  *msw*, see VI/4, n. TT above.

VI/8, n. AO. For the epithet  *3 nrw* used of divinities, see *Wb.* II 278, 4 which gives the meaning "gross an Schrecken." Two similar epithets, used of guardian gods, are found in the Edfu texts: *3 snd* and *wr nrw*. See J.-C. Goyon, *Les dieux-gardiens* 82-84 and 16 and 99 respectively.

VI/8, n. AP. For the epithet  *shm-ib* used of divinities, see VI/6, n. AD above.

VI/9, n. AQ. The suffix pronoun  .*s* ends a vocative phrase, now lost, that occurred in the lacuna at the beginning of the line.

VI/9, n. AR. The hieratic here seems to be  *wp.tw mwt.s* "her mother is opened," (?) or "separated." (?) I can make little sense of either reading. It may be that the group is to be read  , a botched writing of the divine name *wpst*. See *Wb.* I 305, 9-10 which gives this word as the name of "eine Göttin, welche die Bösen verbrennt." For a discussion of Wepset as a name of the fire-spitting uraeus, see J. van Dijk, *LÄ* 6: 1218-1220; H. Junker, *Onurislegende* 82 ff; and P. Germond, *Sekhmet* 95, n. 56. For the occurrence of Wepset in a protection text, see *pBremner Rhind* 24, 11; 25, 5; and 25, 9. The lack of the determinative , normally found with the writing of the names of goddesses in this text, may be due to confusion with the word *wprt* given at *Wb.* I 305, 6, meaning "die Seitenlocke des Kindes" and written .

VI/9, n. AS. On the epithet  ss msw: "one numerous of forms," see the discussion at V/13, n. K above.

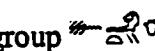
VI/9, n. AT. The reading of the group  sp nšni tp(y): "First Occasion of Raging" is written clearly. The allusion must be to the time of the original cosmic conflict. The noun nšni is written identically at V/17 above. Note, however, that S. Bickel, *Cosmogonie* 58-59 has suggested that the noun sp has the meaning "activity" or "action" in phrases like this one.

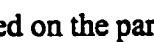
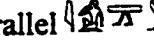
VI/9, n. AU. The translation "O violent one..." is provisional. Only  can be read.

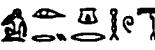
VI/10, n. AV. The signs  point to a feminine substantive with divine significance. See VI/10, n. AX following.

VI/10, n. AW. On the epithet *iry m3t*: "one who does what is right," see V/14, n. Q above.

VI/10, n. AX. The phrase *ms Nwt*: "child of Nut/one whom Nut bore" is an epithet referring either to Maat or to the goddess who is addressed by the epithet *iry m3t* above.

VI/10, n. AY. Before the group  n h3ty n nb.s: "...for the heart of her lord," it is possible to restore a phrase beginning with the participle *iry*: "[one who does X] for the heart of her lord."

VI/10, n. AZ. Following  i šm: "O one who goes...," a possible restoration is  ii: "...and who comes," based on the parallel  i šm ii: "O one who goes and comes" that occurs at VI/12 below.

VI/11, n. BA. The group  i *iry grh rn Wsir* presents several alternatives. If the group  is a writing of *rn*, "name," then the determinative  is lacking, a common omission in Late Period hieratic texts; additionally we are

left with a juxtaposition of two nouns, the translation of the whole being "O one who makes night (whose) name is Osiris." It is also possible that the intended reading was  *i iry grh m rn n Wsir*: "one who makes the night in the name of Osiris" and that several signs have been inadvertently omitted. Alternatively, it is possible that the group  is a writing of the verb  given at *Wb.* V 182, 4-183, 3, "fertig machen." The phrase given here would then read *i iry grh r3 n Wsir* and be translated: "one who makes complete the mouth of Osiris." One would expect the oblique stroke written next to the signs . The lacunae in the present passage make certain restoration impossible. One should also note that the supra linear stroke above the group  is quite possibly an indication that the copyist either had difficulty with the reading here or had made an inadvertent omission.

VI/12, n. BB. There are two or three signs, occupying approximately 1 cm., missing at the beginning of the line.

VI/12, n. BC. The group  *fnd* presents difficulties. The word  *fnd*, given at *Wb.* I 578, 3, is a well-known epithet of Thoth, but the word written here lacks the expected determinatives . Furthermore, the word *fnd* here seems to depend on the preceding word *iry*, given the common occurrence of the construction *iry* + noun in this section of the text. *Wb.* I 578, 4 gives a word whose meaning is "das Zürnen" which may be what is intended here. It should be noted, however, that the entry given there lacks the determinative  (Sign-list F51).

VI/12, n. BD. On the phrase : "one who goes and comes," see *Wb.* IV 462, 12.

VI/12, n. BE. The presence of the determinative  (Sign-list A24) in the writing of the word  *hbs* points to the verb given at *Wb.* III 64, 3-65, 17 with the meanings, "bekleiden; verhüllen." It is tempting to see an epithet in the phrase  *hbs m 'wy.s:* "clothing in her arms." I have found no such epithet attested elsewhere, however. On divinities making or preparing clothing as a means of protection for the deceased, see, for example, *FECT* 484 (*CT VI*, 53-62) and 485 (*CT VI*, 62-65).

TRANSLATION AND COMMENTARY OF SPELL G₂

(COLUMN VI/13 -VIII/1)

(P. BROOKLYN 47.218.49)

13. Hail to you^a together with^b your names. They^c dwell in heaven, they eat on earth,
their uraei in heaven,
14. their *ba*'s on earth, their mummies in the necropolis, their names concealed from
their children,^d
15. their bodies^e turned against their skin (?)^f One does not know the limits of their
lifetime,^g sealed^h
16. [... 1 cm. ...]ⁱ whose forms are numerous.^j You have affixed your heads to your
necks.^k They are made^l for an eternity and an eternity. You live^m
17. [on the hearts]ⁿ of the Sun-people,^o you feed on the hearts of the common people,^p
making a slaughter^q against the enemies
18. [of yours].^r They eat the rebels daily,^s (when) Apophis rages^t again. Your
majesty^u
19. [and] your terror^v are what is in your arms.^w Lo, [may you come]^x to dispel the
enemy, the fiend, the dead male, the dead female, the male adversary, the female

COLUMN VII

1. adversary and so on [from coming against the ear of Pharaoh^y forever and]^z ever.
[... 3 cm. ...] your [... 2 cm. ...] [... 4 cm. ...]
2. he has seen that you are hidden^{AA} [... 3.5 cm. ...] you [...]^{BB} in the presence of Re
and Ptah^{CC} by^{DD} [... 1.5 cm. ...] by^{EE} Thoth.
3. Horus exists,^{FF} the son of Osiris, guidance against^{GG} [... 3.5 cm. ...] the head of^{HH} the
Evil One,^{II} of Osiris, of Nephthys^U [of Isis...]^{KK} which they do against him.^{LL}

4. Give^{MM} indeed^{NN} sustenance(??)^{OO} ground finely(??)^{PP} [... 3.5 cm. ...]^{QQ} every [...] from them,^{RR} with a burnt-offering^{SS} to (?) [the followers of]^{TT} Horus-who-is-in-
šnwt^{UU}
5. upon an altar of one who does what is right^{VV} [... 3.5 cm. ...] mixed^{WW} in it, that which is in the following^{XX} [of the great Ennead]^{YY} the sacred crew^{ZZ}
6. ^{AB} who are in his^{AC} following, [created from...]^{AD} his forms are known to him,^{AE} he [... found ...secrets]^{AF} concealed
7. in Rosetau. He knows what is in [...] he knows what is in it. I give^{AG} [... 1.5 cm. ...] therein,^{AH} by giving^{AI} clothing of the cloth-^{AJ}
8. ing that was given to him.^{AK} Praise while^{AL} [... 3.5 cm. ...].^{AM} Give your heart to yourself.^{AN} [It (?)] was found^{AO} in the presence of Re, Ptah,^{AP} Khepri and Is-
9. -des.^{AQ} One should recite this spell against [... 3.5 cm....] this^{AR} [...] in front of dead male, a book roll, and an image^{AS}
10. of Re, a sun-disk^{AT} upon his head, an image of Khepri,^{AU} of Isis,^{AV} of Sakhmet, an image of Thoth, a Wadjet at his mouth.^{AW} Make Maat^{AX} with
11. [an image of]^{AY} Ptah, of Kehpri, a new^{AZ} image with the face of a man^{BA} (and) the feet^{BB} of a god, a new^{BC} image with the face of a man sitting,^{BD} with a large thread (?)^{BE}
12. (a man) sitting, the fourth *akh*^{BF} standing, with an image [with the face]^{BG} of a man, drawn on a strip^{BH} of fine linen,^{BI} placed at the neck of a man while
13. reciting the spells of^{BJ} this book-roll and this man [gives]^{BK} excrement.^{BL} One places amulets in his hand. Place at the neck. If a man gives excrement,^{BM}
14. his hand upon his head himself and he says in the loudness of his voice:^{BN} I have come forth from Busiris. I have slept in Abydos^{BO}

15. while searching for^{sp} my father Osiris. I found the effectiveness^{BQ} of the book-roll
come to pass.^{BR} I am Horus, avenger of his father. [Words to be recited over]^{BS}
16. *the head of a dun-colored ass,^{BT} anointed with myrrh, placed in front of one who
is suffering (this) illness.*^{BU} Recite the spells of the book-roll [... 3.5 cm. ...]
17. [...] [...]^{BV} painted^{BW} [...]^{BX} on a piece of fine linen, given to^{BY} [...] of Horus on the
right hand^{BZ} [... 5 cm. ...] in
18. [... 2 cm. ...] reciting the spell [in] a loud [voice.]^{CA} If your strength does not come
to pass,^{CB} then you shall say it^{CC} in a loud voice, placed at^{CD}
19. [a strip (?)]^{CE} which is in the House of Writing.^{CF} As for (it) being placed^{CG} [... 2.5
cm. ...] precisely^{CH} what is in writing in^{CI} [... 4.5 cm. ...] [ear] of a man

COLUMN VIII

1. *with [...] 3.5 cm. ...] truly effective a million times.*^{CI}

COMMENTARY

General Remarks: The text designated Spell G₂ does not really mark the beginning of a new spell but rather forms an address to the deities invoked in section G₁. Several fragments belonging to Column VII were misplaced in the original mounting and have been correctly repositioned. Nonetheless, two sizable lacunae remain in Column VII: the first has an approximate width of 1.5-3.5 cm. and runs vertically through the first twelve lines of that column; the second averages 1.5-2.0 cm. in width, occurring in each of the first seven lines. Consequently, it is difficult to reconstruct the whole text for nearly the first half of the column. A second difficulty stems from the rubrics in this column, particularly those that comprise the last four lines of the column. The

considerably faded ink and the darkening of the papyrus have conspired to make portions of text virtually illegible.

VI/13, n. A. In the phrase *ind hr tn*: "Hail to you...," the hieratic sign following is (Sign-list G7), an honorific determinative written with the noun !, since the address is made to divinities. For such a writing, see for example *pChester Beatty I* 2, 1; *pChester Beatty VIII* rt. 9, 9-11. A similar writing can be found in this text at I/21 above.

VI/13, n. B. The preposition *m-m* is an apparent reduplication of *m*. It can have the meaning "together with," for which see R. Caminos, *JEA* 58 (1972) 214 and nn. 2 and 3.

VI/13, n. C. The suffix pronoun *.sn* probably refers to the deities just invoked and not to the group *rn.tn* "your names." Such shifts from second person to third person are common in Egyptian texts.

VI/14, n. D. *pChester Beatty IX* vs.B. 17, 5-7 provides an excellent parallel to this section of the text: *i nn n ntrw ntrwt dm.tw rnw.sn nty hms.sn m t³ pt wnm.sn m t³ i^crrwt.sn hr tp.sn b³w.sn m ddw s^chw.sn m hrt-ntr nn rh.tw rnw.sn*: "O these gods (and) goddesses whose names have been pronounced, who dwell in the sky (but) eat upon the earth, whose uraei are upon their heads, whose *ba*'s are in Busiris, whose mummies are in the necropolis (and) whose names are not known..." For further parallels to the idea that the *ba* and the body inhabit different locales in the afterworld, see *pCairo 58027 III*, 10: *b³.k m hrt h^c.k m dw³t*: "...your *ba* in heaven, your body in the Nether world;" and *pLeiden I 350 IV*, 15-21.

On the phrase *imn r*: "concealed from," see *Wb. I* 83, 14 which gives the meaning "sich verbergen (vor jem. r)." The idea that the gods possessed names that are hidden and not known is prevalent in Egyptian thought.

FECT 75 (*CT I*, 341) provides an early example: "...whose names the gods do not know;" see further *FECT* 146 (*CT II*, 198-199): "his name is not known and his name shall not be known;" and *pCairo 58027 III*, 16: *iw.f imn r rm̄t n̄trw*: "...he is concealed from men (and) gods..." On the specific notion of names concealed from one's children, *pSalt 825 9, 9* gives a close parallel in a description of the god Amun: *nn rh rn.f iwnw.fin msw pr m h̄c.f*: "His name (and) his aspect are not known by the children who came forth from his body;" in turn, *pLeiden I 346 II*, 9 has a similar phrase as an epithet of Osiris: *i Wsir k3 Imntt imn rn.f r msw.f* "O Osiris, Bull of the West, whose name is concealed from his children." For additional examples of this notion, see *pmedLondon 8*, 13-19 (*L 25*), 1; *pIllustré 4, 3*; *pLeiden I 350*, 15-21; *pmagHarris 7*, 1; *Amunhymnus* vs. II, 8-9 and the discussion there at pp. 131-133. See finally the discussion in D. Meeks and C. Favard-Meeks, *Daily Life* 97-100 and 103-104.

VI/15, n. E. Despite the damage to the papyrus at the beginning of the line, the reading of the word  *dt*: "body" is certain.

VI/15, n. F. The phrase    *dt.sn pn̄c r iwn.sn*: "their bodies turned against their skin" is somewhat peculiar. The verb  *pn̄c* is given at *Wb. I 508*, 12 with the basic meanings "umwenden; verkehrt machen." It occurs in *FECT 258 (CT III*, 373), also in a description of gods who are in a position of power: "To you belongs the speech of those in whom there is authority and whose skins are turned over." The latter phrase is written  *inm pn̄c*. The appearance in that passage of  *inm*: "skin" suggests that the word written  here is that noun given at *Wb. I 96*, 14-20, "Haute." That noun is often confused with the noun  *iwn*, *Wb. I 52*, 10-18, with the basic meaning "Farbe" and the extended meanings "Ausseres,

Aussehn eines Gottes." However odd the expression appears to be here, the sense seems clear. The outward appearance of these gods is unknowable, like their names and their other attributes. An alternative interpretation can be derived from a passage in a medical text. *pEdwinSmith* 21, 3-4 lists a remedy entitled *phrw spn*^c *inm*: "Remedies for renewing the skin," suggesting that the meaning of the present phrase may be "their bodies renewed from their skin." Such a translation would advocate for a change in Faulkner's Coffin Text translation: "...those in whom there is authority and whose skins are/have been renewed."

VI/15, n. G. For *hnty*, *Wb.* III 105, 10 - 106, 16 gives the general meanings "Bereich," "Frist," usually of time. See there especially 106, 15-16 where "jemds. Lebenzeit" is attested.

VI/15, n. H. The group may represent the beginning signs of the verb *htm*, *Wb.* III 50-352, 3 with the basic meaning "siegeln;" the determinative (Sign-list S20) is now lost in the lacuna at the beginning of the next line. It possibly continued the thought of the preceding idea, namely that knowledge of the life span of the gods is sealed and unknowable.

VI/16, n. I. The sign (Sign-list S20), the determinative of *htm*, the last word of the preceding line, would have occurred at the beginning of the lacuna. The hieratic traces before the writing of could possibly be the vestiges of . If so, I am at a loss to explain the plural strokes that immediately follow. A more attractive restoration would be , giving the phrase *htm r3w*: "whose mouths are sealed." See VIII/9, n. O below.

VI/16, n. J. The phrase  §3 *hprw*: "whose forms are numerous" has a parallel in the phrase  §3 *msw* that occurs at V/13 and at VI/9 above. See V/13, n. K above.

VI/16, n. K. The idea of affixing one's head to the neck is a common metaphor in Egyptian texts used to designate well-being or the triumph over death and disintegration. See, for example, *pLeiden I* 348 rt. 3, 7 where the patient cured of a headache is described as *mn nhbt* "his neck is made firm."

VI/16, n. L. The phrase  *iry.sn*: "they are made" should be taken as a *sdm.f* passive form, with the suffix pronoun *.sn* referring to either *tpw*: "heads" or *nhbwt*: "necks."

VI/16, n. M. Beginning with the phrase  'nh.tn: "you live...," there occurs a series of clauses describing the gods feeding on their enemies. Such an idea appears as early as the Pyramid Texts in *PT* 273-4, the well-known "Cannibal Hymn." For parallels, see *FECT* 69 (*CT I*, 293); *BD* 79; and *pmagHarris* 10, 3-4. For discussions of the annihilation of one's enemies by eating them, see H. Kees, *Tieropfer* 71-88; J. Leclant, *MDAIK* 14 128-145; and F. Labrique, *Stylistique* 30; 119; 303 and passim for an important discussion of the interconnections between representations and texts of food-offering rituals and those of protection rituals in parallel scene sequences in the Edfu temple.

VI/17, n. N. The restoration of  *ibw*: "hearts" at the beginning of the line fits the traces and the space available.

VI/17, n. O. The noun  *hnmt*, given at *Wb.* III 114, 6-113 with the basic meaning "Menschheit," occurs often in lists of the enemies of the sun-god. *pChester Beatty IX*, vs. B. 12, 3-4 offers an example where the term occurs in a list of enemies of the sick, against whom protection is needed.

VI/17, n. P. For *rhyt*: "common people" as one of the sub-groups in lists of malign forces, see *Wb.* II 448, 1-2.

VI/17, n. Q. The word *ȝd* appears to be a nominal form of the verb given at *Wb.* IV 422, 31-18, with the meaning "schneiden;" hence, the translation "slaughter" seems appropriate here.

VI/18, n. R. The restoration of the suffix pronoun *.tn*: "yours" at the beginning of the line fits the space and sense required.

VI/18, n. S. The verb *wnm* is given at *Wb.* I 320, 15-17 with the meaning "essen;" it is constructed regularly with the preposition *m* preceding the direct object. On the idea of eating one's enemies, see the discussion at VI/16, n. M above.

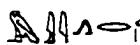
VI/18, n. T. The first sign after the lacuna is . A possible restoration would be *ȝd*, *Wb.* I 24, 12-17, "wütend sein;" hence, the translation of the group *ȝd* 'pp m whm' "(when) Apophis rages again" is given. R.O. Faulkner, *CD* 7, offers the additional meaning "attack." Based on that meaning, an alternative translation of the phrase could be "attacking Apophis again" or even "(when) Apophis attacks again."

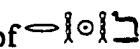
VI/18, n. U. For *ȝfwt*, see *Wb.* IV 457, 2-459, 7, "Majestät; Ansehn eines Gottes." For a writing similar to that which occurs here, see the example on p. 457 marked " *D. 21 ff. auch." The word here stands in parallel construction to the noun *nrw*: "terror."

VI/19, n. V. The traces at the beginning of the line suit the restoration of *nrw*, the word given at *Wb.* II 277, 11-278, 11 with the meanings "der Schrecken; der Respekt."

VI/19, n. W. The scribe wrote the preposition *m* and then added the sign  (Sign-list Z11) above the line, indicating that he had intended to write  "imy: "what is in..."

VI/19, n. X. The traces just before the lacuna suggest the restoration of the verb  *ii*: "come." Such a restoration fits the available space and the sense required.

VII/1, n. Y. Possibly restore   *m ii r msdr n pr '3* "...from coming against the ear of the Pharaoh..." or "...do not come against the ear of the Pharaoh..."

VII/1, n. Z. The traces suit the restoration of  *r nhh dt*: "forever and ever."

VII/2, n. AA. The antecedent of the suffix pronoun subject of the verb  *m33.n.f.*: "he has seen" cannot be established with certainty.

VII/2, n. BB. The suffix pronoun  *.tn* that occurs at the end of the lacuna could be either the subject of a verb, now lost, or the modifier of a noun, now lost.

VII/2, n. CC. The gods Re and Ptah appear in tandem at VII/8 below, there followed by Khepri and Isdes.

VII/2, n. DD. The sign  *m* that follows the name Ptah in this line is possibly the preposition *m*, preceding the name of another god and standing parallel to the phrase *m dhwty* that occurs at the end of the line.

VII/2, n. EE. On the sign  *m*, see VII/2, n. DD preceding.

VII/3, n. FF. The last word of VII/2  *wnn* is possibly a verbal form, although the *Wörterbuch* gives no such writings with the book-roll determinative  (Sign-list Y1). If the existential verb is what is intended here, the noun  *hr*: "Horus," the first word of the next line, would be its subject.

VII/3, n. GG. The meaning of the group    *sšm r n...* is obscure.

VII/3, n. HH. The masculine indirect genitive marker is written  *nt* here rather than simply  *n*. Such a writing is common in Late Period texts.

VII/3, n. II. On the word  *b* as a designation of Seth or Apophis, see III/2, n. C above.

VII/3, n. JJ. The names  *Wsir Nb-hwt* appear to be dependent on the phrase  *tp n*: "head of." The reference here may be to images that are to be drawn on some unidentifiable medium, either just the heads of the gods mentioned here or figures with their heads.

VII/3, n. KK. The restoration of Isis in the lacuna seems logical, given the identity of the three gods who precede. The traces at the end of the lacuna seem to show .

VII/3, n. LL. The exact syntactical function of the verbal  *ir.sn* is obscure.

VII/4, n. MM. Beginning here, we encounter a number of problems in the text which may well be corrupt. The first group of signs  appear to be the imperative *im*: "give; cause." The relationship of this word to what follows is problematic due to the difficulties in trying to establish a reading of a number of the signs that follow. See VII/4, nn. OO and PP that follow immediately below.

VII/4, n. NN. The group  *irk* appears to be a writing of the particle commonly found with imperatives although the writing of the initial sign is a bit peculiar. See A.H. Gardiner, *EG*³ § 252.2 for such a writing with the initial sign  (Sign-list M17).

VII/4, n. OO. The hieratic here presents difficulties. The first sign may be an abbreviated writing of the noun  (Sign-list G43) *df3* given at *Wb.* V 569,9-571,5 with the basic meanings "Nahrung; Speise." Alternatively, it may be an

abbreviated writing of the verb  *wṣṣ* given at *Wb.* I 369, 9-12 with the meaning "ausschütten." Finally, it may be the bird-sign used in the writing the name of the god Geb. If this is what the scribe intended, the group *imm^c irk gb sṣ* means "Cause that Geb be drawn..." an odd turn of phrase but a possibility. On the hieratic writing and its range of possibilities, see G. Möller *HP* II, 20, № 219; III, 20, № 220; II, 18, № 201; and II, 19, № 217 respectively. Given the lacunae, it is very difficult to select one of these possibilities as a preferred reading.

VII/4, n. PP. The traces suggest  *nd šn^c*: "grind finely," for which see III/14, n. AB above. Alternatively, the first sign may be a writing of  (Sign-list G7), appearing here as the determinative in the writing of the name of the god Geb. The second sign may be a writing of  (Sign-list Y3) or  (Sign-list W25). The lacunae make any determination impossible.

VII/4, n. QQ. The traces show the sign  with two signs underneath.

VII/4, n. RR.  *nb im.sn*: "...every [...] from/in them" must depend on what precedes it, namely the drawing of figures or the listing of ingredients in a prescription. Again, the lacunae make an exact understanding impossible. For the writing , see F. Junge, *Neuägyptischen* 93, 2.2.4 (3).

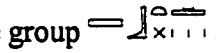
VII/4, n. SS.  *ḥ* is given at *Wb.* I 223, 13-16, "Feuerbecken; Opferfeuer."

VII/4, n. TT. Based on the reading of the group at the end of the line, the lacuna may have ended with a term like  *šmsw*: "following/followers." See VII/4, n. YY immediately following.

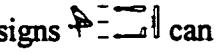
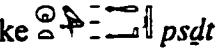
VII/4, n. UU. The hieratic signs show  *ḥ*, the writing of the name of a localized Horus worshipped in Upper Egypt at a town called *śnt*. See *Wb.* IV 498, 5. For a discussion of the reading of the group , see H. Kees, *ZÄS* 64

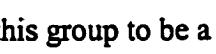
(1929) 107-112; and J.F. Borghouts, *pLeiden I* 348 164, n.391. As Borghouts suggests, the word play on the town name *snt*—if that is the correct reading—and the word  *snt* and *snt*, “conjuror” and “conjurations” may be significant.

VII/5, n. VV. The group  *hr h3wy nt iry m3t* presents several difficulties. The indirect genitive marker directly follows the word  *h3w*: “altar,” connecting it somehow with the epithet  *iry m3t* which is the likely restoration here. The phrase *iry m3t* appears to be an epithet, for which see V/14, n. Q above. The identity of the being to whom the epithet refers can not be established due to the lacuna that follows.

VII/5, n. WW. The group  *sb* appears to be the verb given at *Wb.* IV 436, 4-14 with the meaning “mischen; sich mit jem gesellen.”

VII/5, n. XX. The phrase  *imy ht*: “what is after...” can be read just before the break. Its exact meaning here cannot be determined.

VII/5, n. YY. The signs  can be read at the end of the lacunae, suggest a restoration like  *psdt 3t*: “great Ennead.” Such a writing appears earlier in the text for which see IV/16 and IV/16, n. AV above.

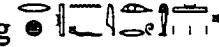
VII/5, n. ZZ. The hieratic exhibits a writing similar to a group of signs occurring at VI/3. I take this group to be a writing of  *ist*: “crew.” See VI/3, n. PP above.

VII/6, n. AB. The book roll determinative  (Sign-list Y1), visible at the beginning of the beginning of this line, is the final sign of the word *dsr*: “sacred,” the last word of the preceding line.

VII/6, n. AC. The antecedent of the suffix pronoun  cannot be determined.

VII/6, n. AD. Before the lacuna, the group  km³ can be read.

Notwithstanding, the loss of the determinative of this word precludes establishing its meaning here.

VII/6, n. AE. The writing  rh n.firw.f is to be read either as a *sdm.f* passive form, the reading adopted here and translated "his forms are known to him." Alternatively *rh n.f* may be a *sdm.n.f* form and the translation should be "he has known his forms." In either case, the two translations are roughly equivalent in meaning.

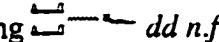
VII/6, n. AF. The hieratic traces just before the lacuna suggest  gm, but the length of the lacuna makes any restoration provisional. At the end of the lacuna, the group  can be read, the beginning signs of the word *st3w*: "secrets."

VII/7, n. AG.  iw.i di... seems certain.

VII/7, n. AH. The signs  seem certain despite the fact that a fragment of papyrus has shifted and covers part of the text here.

VII/7, n. AI.  dd is probably the participle "giving."

VII/7, n. AJ. The signs at the end of this line and the beginning of the next give  hbs nt hbsw: "clothing of the clothing."

VII/8, n. AK. The writing  dd n.f: "given to him" or "the one to whom 'X' is given" suggests that this verbal form is a participle, modifying the phrase that occurs before it. There are a number of spells as early as the Coffin Texts where various articles of clothing are referred to as means of protection. See, for example, *FECT* 484 (*CT VI*, 53-62), and 485 (*CT VI*, 62-65).

VII/8, n. AL.  i3wy is the noun or verb given at *Wb.* I 28, 1-6 with the basic meaning "praise."

VII/8, n. AM. The signs  can be read just before the lacuna.

VII/8, n. AN. The traces suit the restoration of the imperative  *imi*: "give."

VII/8, n. AO. It is unclear whether  *gm*: "found" is a participle modifying the noun *ib*: "heart" that precedes it or a finite verb whose nominal or pronominal subject is now lost in the lacuna.

VII/8, n. AP. The gods Re and Ptah appear in tandem above at VII/2, for which see VII/2, n. CC above.

VII/9, n. AQ. On the god Isdes, *Wb.* I 134, 11-12 gives this word "als Gotterbezeichnung von Anubis, Thoth und anderen." See R. Grieshammer, "Isdes," *LA* 3:185 where it is stated that the equation of Isdes with Thoth is a late development. As a falcon-headed god, Isdes is encountered as early as the *Coffin Texts* with the epithet "lord of Justice." At *BD* 17 a 13, he is found in conjunction with Seth as one of the Lords of Truth and is also called Lord of the West there. In *pJumilhac* IX+17 Isdes appears as Thoth or Anubis and is responsible for destroying the Companions of Seth. Isdes appears again at XV, 11 of the same text as a form of the *kd-i(r)-tw-wolf*. See *LJ* 28 where he is found in connection with the sun-god. He is closely associated with the similarly named god Isden, a dog-headed god also connected with Thoth and called the son of Rattaui. The name Isden clearly seems to be a later development, as the texts in which his name appears, cited at *LA* 3: 184, are largely Ptolemaic. See R. Grieshammer, *LA* 3: 184-185 for a discussion of the two gods. Isdes appears again in the present text at IX/10 in a long invocation of deities, a list in which the names of Thoth and Anubis are included. The god Isdes probably should be understood here and again at IX/10 in his non-syncretized form.

VII/9, n. AR.  is probably the demonstrative adjective *tn*, modifying a now lost noun.

VII/9, n. AS. The group  *iry* at the end of the line is the phonetic writing of the word *irw* "image," as shown by the determinative  (Sign-list A53) at the beginning of the next line. Here begins a series of images which are to be inscribed on a strip of linen, as the instructions at VII/12 explain. Lists of images of gods to be inscribed on strips of linen to be used as amulets appear frequently in protection texts; see, for example, *pCairo 58027* 3, 14; *pKölner 3547* 3, 7 and *pChester Beatty V* vs. 5, 7-9.

VII/10, n. AT. The word  *itn*: "solar disk" is not a separate divine name in this list of the gods whose images are being inscribed but part of a description of the image that is to be drawn here. Elsewhere in this passage, the word , to be read *irw*: "image" immediately precedes the name of each god mentioned.

VII/10, n. AU.  (Sign-list L1) suggests the restoration of the name  *hpri*: "Khepri."

VII/10, n. AV. The traces at the end of the lacuna may be a writing of the name of Isis which is written  elsewhere in this text; see, for example, the writing at VIII/13.

VII/10, n. AW. The writing of the group  may be the preposition *r* governing the noun *r3*. Alternatively, it may be the Late Egyptian writing  of the preposition *r* before the suffix pronoun *f*; see A. Erman, *Neuäg. Gramm.* § 609.

VII/10, n. AX. The surface of the papyrus is somewhat damaged at the end of this line. The signs   can be made out, possibly "...one who does what is right in..." or "...image of Maat in..." Note, however, that the word *irw*:

"image" is written simply with the sign  (Sign-list A53) elsewhere in this passage.

VII/11, n. AY. There is enough room to restore  *irw n*: "an image of..." before the writing of the name of the god Ptah.

VII/11, n. AZ. The sign  (Sign-list U1) is a writing of the word *m3w*: "new," *Wb.* II 27, 3-4. New figures, images and media to receive them are very common in magical texts.

VII/11, n. BA. Following   *hr n*: "face of," the restoration of   *rmt* is likely.

VII/11, n. BB. The signs  have been added as a supra linear group above the signs  , the whole group forming the noun *rdwy*: "legs." The phrase "face of a man (and) legs of a god" here may refer to a human-headed mummiform figure.

VII/11, n. BC. On the sign  (Sign-list U1) as a writing of the word *m3w*: "new," see VII/11, n. AZ above.

VII/11, n. BD. The sign  (Sign-list A7) that occurs after the writing of *rmt*: "man" presents problems. It seems to be used as the phoneme *gn* in the writing of    *gngn*, the name of the plant given by *WbDN* 538-539 which occurs in another Brooklyn papyrus, *pBrooklyn* 47.218.75+86 (unpublished), a medical text dealing with ailments of the back and the anus. None of the words written *gn-* in the *Wörterbuch* show a simple phonetic writing, and none give a meaning suitable to the context of the present passage. I take the sign as an abbreviated spelling of *hms*: "to sit." It has that value in Ptolemaic texts; see F. Daumas, *Valeurs phonétiques* I, 2, N° 43.

VII/11, n. BE.   *w3t* may be the noun given at *Wb.* I 244, 4-5, "Schnur, Band." The determinatives  would have been written where there is now a small

lacuna of 0.5 cm. in the text. However, such a word does not seem to fit the context very well.

VII/12, n. BF. The writing of the group — "n-4 after *ȝhw* is puzzling. It is possibly a writing of *nw-4*: "fourth." If the reference here is to four *akh*'s, four such beings are known from a number of texts as guardians of Atum or as the guardians assigned to Osiris by Re; see J.-C. Goyon, *Les dieux-gardiens* 412-415, especially 414, nn. 3-5.

VII/12, n. BG. The restoration of  *hrt n*: "face" seems probable.

VII/12, n. BH. The word  *stp* is *Wb.* IV 341, 13-15, "Lappen; Binde." At the edge of the break the traces of  can be seen.

VII/12, n. BI.   is to be read *pȝk*, *Wb.* I 499, 11-15, "Feinster Leinenstoff."

Although the second radical is usually written as  (Sign-list N29), the *Wörterbuch* cites a spelling with  (Sign-list W11.) The group *stp pȝk*: "strip of fine linen" appears as well at *pEdwin Smith* 22, 13 and *pChester Beatty V* rt. 4, 7. For examples of the term *stp*: "strip," see *pRamesseum III A* 23, and *MuK* 8, 3.

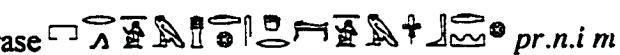
VII/13, n. BJ. The verb   *sni* is given at *Wb.* IV 496, 8-12 with the meaning "beschwören; besprechen." The idea here seems to be either the act of reciting the texts contained in the papyrus or that of consulting them. In the latter case, the translation of the phrase     *hft sni mdȝt tn* would be "...when consulting this book roll." This verb occurs again at VIII/6 and VIII/19 below.

VII/13, n. BK. A small hole in the papyrus precludes a clear reading of the hieratic group here. Only the sign — seems clear. See VII/13, nn. BL-BM following.

VII/13, n. BL. Although there is damage to the papyrus here, the group  *hs* can be read. The same word occurs at the end of this line and the beginning of the next line. The word  *hs* appears to be *Wb.* III 164, 4-10, "Kot." A similar idea is found at *pChester Beatty VI* vs. 1, 6 which has the phrase *mtw.k dit hs*: "...and you place excrement..." without any instructions about where the excrement is to be placed. The verb may be read as "give" as well.

VII/13, n. BM. On the phrase  *di hs*, see VII/13, n. BL preceding.

VII/14, n. BN. The idea of speaking loudly was usually considered an abomination of the gods. See, for example, *FECT* 36 (*CTI*, 144); *FECT* 37 (*CTI*, 151-152); and *pBoulaq* 6 102-103, n.1 for further references. The idea here may be that the act of speaking loudly is an abomination to the malign forces who will desert the person who does so.

VII/14, n. BO. A parallel to the phrase  *pr.n.i m ddw sdr.n.i m 3bdw*: "It is from Busiris that I have come forth; it is in Abydos that I have slept" is found on *oGlasgow D.1925.79* (= *oColin Campbell 14*), a copy of a portion of a text in *pLeiden I 349* III, 11, in the phrase *ink hr pr m ddw sdr m 3bdw*: "I am Horus who is come forth from Busiris, who slept in Abydos." See A.G. McDowell, *Glasgow* 18-19 and pl. XVIII-XVIIIa, and A. de Buck and B.H. Stricker, *OMRO* 21 1940, 59. See also *pmedBerlin* 21, 6-7 (*Bln* 190) which has a similar phrase which reads: *ink hr sdr [m ...] wrwš m 3bdw*: "I am Horus who slept [in...] and passed the day in Abydos."

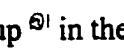
VII/15, n. BP.  *hh* is *Wb.* III 151, 3-152, 4, "suchen." The entry at *Wb.* III 151, 3 gives the more detailed meaning "eine Person suchen (den Osiris...)."

VII/15, n. BQ.  *rw* appears to be *Wb.* II 412, 13, "Erfolg," based on the context and the sense required here.

VII/15, n. BR. The translation of the verbal  *hpr* as "come to pass" is uncertain.

The group  *gm.i rwd n md3t hpr*: "I found (him, i.e. Osiris) strong because (this) book-roll exists" is also a possible reading here.

VII/15, n. BS. In the last four and one-half lines of this column and half of the first line of the next column, the rubrics have faded considerably, and the papyrus has darkened somewhat, making the reading of this section of the text very difficult. With the aid of intense magnification and directed, concentrated light, I have been able to read and restore some sections of the text, except where the surface of the papyrus is damaged. The final 2.5 cm. of the present line consists of several rubricized signs, all of which are now illegible.

VII/16, n. BT.  *tp n 3*: "head of an ass" is clear, followed by  *km3*, the adjective given at *WbMT* 885 with the meaning "falben." A number of body parts of an ass are known from prescriptions in medical texts, for which see *WbDN* 76-78. The closest parallel to this phrase is  *d3d3* *3*: "head of an ass" found in *pEbers* 25, 15 (*Eb* 106). Based on the parallel in *pEbers*, perhaps the group  in the present text should be read *d3d3* as well. For the noun *3*: "ass" qualified by the adjective *km3*, see *WbDN* 77-78.

VII/16, n. BU. The hieratic group is probably  *mr*: "illness" rather than  *mwt*: "death" or "dead male."

VII/17, n. BV. The writing of the sign  in black is perhaps in deference to its use as a writing of the name of the god Re, although it is not that word as the determinative  is lacking here.

VII/17, n. BW.  *sdm* is *Wb.* IV 370, 1-8, "schminken."

VII/17, n. BX. After *sdm* there is a single illegible sign followed by the group . The *Wörterbuch* offers no word spelled *sn* and ending with the determinative (Sign-list A24).

VII/17, n. BY. The traces support the reading which does not yield much sense.

VII/17, n. BZ. The reading of the group *drt wnmt*: "right hand" is fairly certain.

VII/18, n. CA. The restoration of *hrw*: "voice" after *k3*: "loud" is based on the traces and sense required here. The same phrase occurs at the end of the line and at VII/14 above.

VII/18, n. CB. The hieratic shows . The writing of the sign in black in the verb *hpr* "become" may be in deference to the use of this sign in writing the name of the god Khepri. See VII/17, n. BV above.

VII/18, n. CC. The traces after *dd.k*: "you shall say," though faint, appear to be a writing of the dependent pronoun *sw*, here functioning as the direct object of the verb *dd*: "speak."

VII/18, n. CD. The signs *di r*: "...placed at..." seem clear, but their relationship with what follows is problematic.

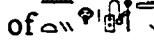
VII/19, n. CE. The first sign of the line may be (Sign-list U21). Such a reading points to the possible restoration of the word *stp* given at *Wb.* IV 341, 13-15 with the meaning "Lappen; Binde." Alternatively the first sign may be (Sign-list U28), suggesting the restoration *dm*, *Wb.* V 574, 4-9, "Papyrusblatt," although there does not appear to be enough room here for the writing of that word. The noun *dm* occurs again at VIII/10-11 below.

VII/19, n. CF. The institution *pr md3t*: "House of Writing," refers to a scriptorium or "reference" library. The word refers to a part of the larger

institution known as the House of Life, for which see *LÄ* I 783-785 and A. Gardiner, *JEA* 24 (1938) 157-179; see also the remarks of D.B. Redford, *King-lists* 215-229 where he discusses temple libraries and their probable contents; and finally, see K. Nordh, *Curses and Blessings*, 106-126. It is possible that the preposition *m* here means "from" and not "in."

VII/19, n. CG. The translation of  "As for (it) being placed at..." is provisional, based on the traces and the context of the passage.

VII/19, n. CH. The traces of  can be seen clearly, suggesting a writing of the adverb *mty*: "precisely; exactly."

VII/19, n. CI. The translation of  "...that which is in writing in..." is provisional.

VIII/1, n. CJ.  is quite clear. For the translation "truly effective millions of times," see *Wb.* IV 542, 13-16.

TRANSLATION AND COMMENTARY OF SPELL H

(COLUMN VIII, 1-6)

(P. BROOKLYN 47.218.49)

1.Another [spell ... 4 cm. ...]^ flame^b [which] (?) I extinguished.^c [... 2.5 cm. ...fire.]^d
2. [Fire] was given to me^e [... 3 cm. ...]^f Fire was given to me^g (and) I have [punished (?)]^h him,ⁱ causing that they^j come into being. I^k am Isis^l
3. who fights [... 3 cm. ...] her.^m I will not give the child Horusⁿ to the fire. These excellent remedies^o have [saved]^p him for me,^q a flood^r
4. that comes forth [... 3 cm. ...]^s of Re, that come forth from his body.^t I am the one who [dispels]^u the influence^v of a goddess,^w dead male, dead female and so on who make
5. heat^x [in the head, in the temple]^y in the ear of Psamtik, l.p.h. *Recitation over [...]*
a reed plant,^z a knot
6. of [...]^{aa} [... 2 cm. ...] *reciting spells (over)^{bb} the ear therewith* together with the *dʒ[is-plant],^{cc} ground finely^{dd} with laudanum (and) placed at the ear.*

COMMENTARY

General Remarks: The text of this spell remains problematic due to lacunae. The spell focuses on the child Horus who is threatened by fire. It is narrated by Isis who claims that she has played no part in any attempt to destroy the child Horus by fire. Moreover, she claims that she is the one who has saved the child and restored him to health. Furthermore, she states that she will now save Pharaoh. It is possible that the apparent "switch" into the first person is yet another indicator that this papyrus was compiled from several different texts. The

mythological allusions in this spell are likely to the stories about the child Horus hidden in the Delta marshes by his mother Isis to protect him from his enemies. The references to fire may be allude to his being stung by a scorpion, an incident that does occur in that myth cycle. If that story is relevant here, then it may be significant that the first ingredient in the prescription is part of a reed-plant.

VIII/1, n. A. The traces of the signs  suggest *ky r3*: "Another Spell." The prescription and set of instructions for the last spell were written entirely in rubrics. Thus, the scribe was required to use black ink to indicate the beginning of a new spell.

VIII/1, n. B.  *nbit*: "flame" can be read clearly.

VIII/1, n. C. For  *'hm*, see *Wb.* I 224, 15-18, "löschen." It is possible that the phrase *'hm.i* here is a relative form, modifying the noun *nbit* that precedes it, and should be translated "...which I extinguish." In a statement at VIII/2-3 that follows, the narrator seemingly claims to have given or to have been given fire. The restoration of   [... *rdi.t(w).n.i*] *nbit* *'hm.i* : "Fire was given to me which I extinguished ..." is a possibility. *pRamesseum C* vs. 3, 3 has a parallel in the phrase ...] *n.k ht 'hm.n.k* ...: "...you...fire (which) you extinguished." See also *BD 22* which has the statement "I quench any fire that has broken out," uttered by the deceased who has just come from the Isle of Flame.

VIII/1, n. D. The traces at the end of the line show the vestiges of the sign  (Sign-list Q7), suggesting that a noun associated with fire should be restored here.

VIII/2, n. E. The traces at the beginning of the lacuna recommend the restoration of the prepositional phrase  *n.i*: "to me"

VIII/2, n. F. The lacuna ends with  (Sign-list N35), a determinative that suggests a word with a meaning like "extinguish." Although the verb *'hm*: "extinguish" occurs above with the determinative  (Sign-list Q7), the group  (Sign-list N35) can be a determinative as well. See *Wb.* I 224, 15-18.

VIII/2, n. G. The numerous lacunae prevent an understanding of the syntax of many of the verb phrases. The context seems to require a passive form here; therefore, I have taken     *iw rdi.t(w) n.i hh* as passive form introduced by *iw* and followed by a indirect object dative and a nominal subject.

VIII/2, n. H.  and the traces at the beginning of the lacuna suggest a possible restoration of the verb   *sswn*, given at *Wb.* IV 273, 7-15 with the meaning "bestrafen;" numerous references are given there to its occurrence in connection with Apophis and other enemies of the gods and the king. It occurs in *Edfu* III 138, 13 in an Apophis ritual, describing a punishment consisting of fire inflicted by Hathor.

VIII/2, n. I. If the restoration of the verb   *sswn* is correct, then the dependent pronoun  *sw* would refer to one of the malign forces; the antecedent of this pronoun would have occurred in one of the preceding lacunae.

VIII/2, n. J. The antecedent of the suffix pronoun  *.sn*: "they" remains unclear.

VIII/2, n. K. The sign  *k* at the bottom of the lacuna and the other traces indicate a writing of the independent pronoun *ink*: "I."

VIII/2, n. L. The writing of the divine name   *3st*: "Isis" at the end of the line is also found at VIII/13.

VIII/3, n. M. It is possible that the sign  at the end of the lacuna is the feminine suffix pronoun; in that case, its antecedent may be the goddess Isis whose name occurs at the end of the preceding line.

VIII/3, n. N. The group                     <img alt="son Horus sign" data

VIII/4, n. U. The traces suit the restoration of the verb  *dr*: "dispel," a frequently occurring word in this text.

VIII/4, n. V.  *st-* is given at *Wb*. I 157, 5, "Bez. für Krankheit." *WbMT* 701-2 gives the additional meanings as "Einwirkung; Einwirkungsstelle," citing a number of examples where the word is followed by *ntr*, *ntrt*, *mwt*, or *mwtt* as direct genitives. The phrase can also be preceded by the sign  (Sign-list R8), as it is here, to indicate the "influence of a god." The writing of the sign  before the group  *st-* is simply an example of honorific transposition. See A.H. Gardiner, *pChester Beatty IX* vs. B1, 1 and p. 106 where he translates it as "blows." The word can also have a positive nuance, for which see J. Vandier, *Mo'alla* 168-169.

VIII/4, n. W. The word  *ntrt*: "goddess" appears only here in the lists of potentially harmful beings given in this papyrus.

VIII/5, n. X. The traces at the beginning of the line suggest the word  *hh*, *Wb*. II 501, 15-502, 1-8, "Gluthauch." See in particular II 502, 6 where it is cited as "Hitze als Krankheit Zustand eines Körperteils." The same word is used to describe the benevolent and malevolent fire of the sun-god. On *hh* as the benevolent heat of the sun, see J. Zandee, *Amunhymnus* II 467-470. An apparent reference to *hh* as the destructive heat of the sun-god occurs at *pmagHarris* 5, 7. *hh* is also used to refer to the fiery blast of the Eye of Horus in *pBremner Rhind* 30, 23 and 31, 13. See further J. Zandee, *Death* 137-138 on *hh* as the glowing breath of a demon. The word *hh* in the Brooklyn text has a meaning with unequivocally negative associations, as the determinative  (Sign-list Z6) attests. It invariably refers to a destructive power used by the

forces of evil against the Pharaoh. It occurs several times in the following spells.

VIII/5, n. Y. The restoration of the phrase  *m tp m m3c*: "in the head, in the temple" is based in the space available and the occurrence of this phrase at IX/3, XI/19-XII/1, XII/4, and XIII/1.

VIII/5, n. Z. The noun  *twr* is given at *Wb.* V 318, 13 with the meaning "Röhricht." It is defined by *WbDN* 551-552 as "Rohrpflanze."

VIII/6, n. AA. There are two signs at the beginning of the line, the first of which appears to be . I can make little sense of what follows.

VIII/6, n. BB. The word  *sni*: "recite spells" occurs as well at VII/13 above and VIII/19 below. See VII/13, n. BJ above for a discussion of its meaning and translation.

VIII/6, n. CC. The restoration of  *d3is* is based on the signs  and the traces. This word is given at *Wb.* V 520, 12-521, 3 and *WbDN* 592-594 as an unknown plant. J. Borghouts, *AEM* 106, n.159 states that *d3is* is a poisonous herb but gives no evidence to support this claim. See now R.L. Miller, "*Daais, Peganus harmala L.*," *BIAFO* 94 (1994) 349-359, who identifies *d3is* as *harmala* and who cites among its medicinal applications its use as an analgesic.

VIII/6, n. DD. On the phrase  *nd sncc*: "ground finely," see III/14, n. AB above.

TRANSLATION AND COMMENTARY OF SPELL I

(COLUMN VIII, 6-11)

(P. BROOKLYN 47.218.49)

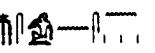
6. *Another*
7. *spell.* A lie belonging to (?) a dead male;^a a lie belonging to (?) a dead female; a lie belonging to (?) Atum.^b Hear the words.^c A lie belonging to (?) them.^d
8. Fish upon the waters^e (and) birds in their flight^f belong to (?)^g the two brothers who possess one mother.^h
9. Come,ⁱ to (?)^j the catcher,^k their (?) hands^l placed^m at a definite moment (?)ⁿ to seal the mouth^o of the dead male, dead female, male adversary, female
10. adversary who make fire in the ear of Psamtik, l.p.h. *Recitation over a barque of Re^p drawn on a^q*
11. *new papyrus roll^r (and) placed at the throat^s of a man (with) fire in his ear.*

COMMENTARY

General Remarks: This spell has a number of problematic words and phrases. The enigmatic terms in the first half of the spell make the task of establishing the syntax extremely difficult.

VIII/7, n. A. In this spell the term  *iw-ms* is always followed by the preposition *n*. The group *iw-ms n* introduces a noun three times and once a suffix pronoun. The basic meaning of the term *iw-ms* is given as "Unwahrheit" at *Wb.* I 52, 7-9. Under the entry *ms*, *Wb.* II 142, 5 gives an entry but not a definition. Neither the *DLE* nor the *AL* give an entry for this phrase. The basic discussion of the word still remains A.H. Gardiner, *Admonitions* 21-23. In that text, the word occurs as an introductory particle marking each new section of

the text. Hence, Gardiner translates it with the neutral "forsooth." B. Gunn, *Studies* 147 n. 5, appears to agree with the meaning given at *Wb* I 52, 7-9. The term *iw-ms* does not appear in any of the medical texts, although it does occur in a Middle Kingdom magical text in Turin, for which see A. Roccati, *pTurin 54003* rt. 2, 11 and p. 25, n. g, who states that it is a particle derived from an adverb. He bases his interpretation and discussion of this term on a phrase found in *FECT 225 (CT III 233)*: *iw-ms r.f mi dd NN*: "Surely, indeed, it will be according to what I say."

A correct interpretation of the term as it is used here is critical to understanding the passage. Two alternative explanations can be given, neither of which seems completely satisfactory. The first is to understand *iw-ms* as the particle discussed above and to take the word — *n* that follows it as the *nisbe* form of the preposition, *n(y)*, indicating ownership or possession. For such a form, see A.H. Gardiner, *EG* § 114, 1 where examples are given showing the occurrence of *n(y)* even before suffix pronouns. We can rule out the word *n* as the genitive marker, given its occurrence in the phrase  *iw-ms n*. Suffix pronouns are not so marked. Furthermore, in this interpretation, the word *n(y)* is understood as connecting the phrases that follow it to the heading *ky r3* that opens the spell. In this case, the particle *iw-ms* is used four times as an emphatic particle to indicate that the initial phrase *ky r3* is connected to each of the four successive terms introduced by *n(y)*. Hence, the translation would be "Another spell, indeed, for a dead male, indeed, for a dead female..."

Alternatively, one can read *iw-ms* as the noun given at *Wb*. I 52, 7, with the basic meaning "lie" or "untruth." The sign *n* would again be understood as the *nisbe*-form *n(y)* indicating possession. In this case, the

translation would be: "Another spell: A lie belonging to a dead male, a lie belonging to a dead female..." Although the latter is the reading adopted here, note that it remains provisional at best.

VIII/7, n. B.  *Itm*: "Atum" is certain, but the role played here by that god is unclear.

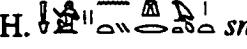
VIII/7, n. C. The restoration of  *mdwt*: "words" is based on the traces. The phrase *sdm mdwt*: "hear the words" occurs as well at II/7 and II/10-11 above, and at XII/19 and XIII/3 below.

VIII/7, n. D. It is unclear whether the suffix pronoun  *.sn* refers to the individuals just listed or to the group "fish ...birds" that follows.

VIII/8, n. E. Understanding the meaning of the phrase  *rm tp mw*: "fish upon the waters" in the present context presents difficulties. If the "fish" referred to here, as well as the "birds" in the following phrase, have negative associations, then they well might refer to the enemies of the sun-god. Several texts refer to enemies who appear in these forms. See, for example, A. Bakir, *pCairo 86637* rt. VI, 4-8 where the sun-god regurgitates rebellious gods whom he has swallowed and they emerge in the form of fish and birds.

VIII/8, n. F. For the occurrence of birds in connection with fish, see *Wb.* I 9, 6. See also VIII/8, n. E immediately above.

VIII/8, n. G. I have taken the word  *n* here, again, as a *nisbe* form.

VIII/8-9, n. H.  *snwy nty hr mwt wt*: lit. "two brothers who possess one mother" may refer to Osiris and Seth. The spell focuses on strife and untruth, and this phrase may simply be an embellishment of that theme. I owe the correct reading of the text here to Richard Jasnow.

VIII/9, n. I. I understand the verb  *iw*: "Come" to be an imperative here.

VIII/9, n. J. The meaning of the preposition ♀^1 *hr* is difficult to establish here.

VIII/9, n. K. The word $\text{𠀠} \times \text{𠀠}$ *sht* appears to be the noun given at *Wb.* IV 264, 2 with the meaning "der Weber." A noun $\text{𠀠} \times \text{𠀠}$ *sht* appears at *Urk.* VI 69, 21 in the phrase *mi nhm.k wi m-^c sht* and is translated there as "Komme und errette mich vor den Vogelfängern..." Such a meaning seems attractive here. "Catchers" with nets are among the adversaries commonly encountered in the Underworld.

VIII/9, n. L. $\text{𠀠} \text{𠀠} \text{drt}$ followed by the signs $\text{𠀠} \text{𠀠}$ is possibly a writing with the Late Egyptian third person plural suffix pronoun. Such a writing is found at XI/6 and XI/11 below.

VIII/9, n. M. The exact translation of $\text{𠀠} \text{𠀠} \text{w3h}$ is difficult to determine, given the numerous problems in this passage. The neutral translation "placed" is provisional. For a discussion of the idiom *w3h drt hr*: "to point out s.t.," see *JEA* 22 (1936) 182.

VIII/9, n. N. The word $\text{𠀠} \text{𠀠} \text{dmd}$ is that given at *Wb.* V 461, 14-462, 6 with the meaning "die bestimmte Zeit." The translation given, "at a definite moment," is more commonly written $\text{𠀠} \text{𠀠} \text{r dmd}$.

VIII/9, n. O. On the idea of sealing the mouth of the enemy, see S. Schott, *ZÄS* 65 (1930) 35-42, a publication of selected passages of *pBM 10081* that deal with sealing body parts and places as a means of controlling the forces of chaos. The phrase *htm r3*: "seal the mouth" occurs as well at *pLeiden I 343+345* vs. 5, 4; and *pmagHarris* 8, 3; 8, 8; 10, 3.

VIII/10, n. P. The instruction to draw a figure of a barque of Re in the prescription is likely due to the idea that the solar barque is a place of ultimate protection.

VIII/10, n. Q. The rubric is faded but the signs $\text{𠀠} \text{𠀠} \text{ss}$ *hr*: "drawn on" can be read.

VIII/11, n. R. The last two signs of the previous line are . The beginning of this line shows the group clearly, yielding the word *dm* given at *Wb.* V 574, 4-9 with the meaning "Papyrus Blatte."

VIII/11, n. P. Instructions to place a written prescription at the throat in cases where the physical affliction occurs in some other part of the body are quite common. Such an instruction indicates that the strip of papyrus on which the spell and prescriptions are written is to be worn at the neck as an amulet. For examples of instances where the spell has such an amuletic function, see, for example, *pLeiden I 348* vs. 2: a spell for chasing away nightmares; *pLeiden I 348* rt. 4, 5-9: a spell against headaches; and *pLeiden I 346* 1, 1-2, 5: a spell against the demons of the last day of the year and against the *i3dt*-plague of the year. The genre known as amuletic oracular decrees comprises the most well-known texts of this type; see I.E.F. Edwards, *Oracular Decrees*, *passim*.

TRANSLATION AND COMMENTARY OF SPELL J

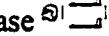
(COLUMN VIII, 11-15)

(P. BROOKLYN 47.218.49)

11.*Another spell.* The Eye of Horus is before you.^A It is in torment.^B
12. You rage^C against it (and) it rages against you. Devour(ed),^D made to fall (?),^E ssd-cloth^F in heaven, the *wḥ3*-demons^G
13. (and) the swelling^H upon earth. Fire comes forth upon the left (side)^I of Isis and again upon that of Nephthys.^J Subdue the fiend^K as
14. the Seth-animal^L and vice-versa. The gods have made their malice^M averted.^N
Come with a message.^O *To be recited over*
15. an image of Horus (and) an image of the Evil One drawn upon the ear of a man.^P

COMMENTARY

General Remarks: The *topoi* of this spell focus on the mythological struggle between Horus and Seth in which the Eye of Horus was damaged. Syntactical problems and oblique references render the understanding of the spell problematic.

VIII/11, n. A. The phrase  tp 'wy tw is best understood as the adjective *tp 'wy* given at *Wb.* V 283, 1-284, 9 with the meaning "befindlich vor" followed by the dependent pronoun *tw*. The syntactical structure of the sentence appears to be adjectival predicate + dependent pronoun serving as direct object + the nominal subject *irt hr* "Eye of Horus." It remains unclear to whom the dependent pronoun *tw* refers, but it seems quite possible that it is the same being to whom the suffix pronoun *k* in the next line refers.

VIII/11, n. B. The group written  *i3dt* presents difficulties. None of the words listed in the *Wörterbuch* or in the other lexica shows a writing of *i3dt* written with the determinative ⁹ (Sign-list F51), a sign which can be seen quite clearly here. *Wb.* I 35, 9-12 gives the meanings "elend sein; Mangel leiden," either of which would make sense describing the damaged eye of Horus. In this case, the sign  is to be understood as the suffix pronoun referring to the Eye and serving as the subject; hence the translation : "...the Eye of Horus. It is in torment." *Wb.* I 35, 16-18 offers "Not; Mangel," a word that also makes sense. If *i3dt* is a noun, the translation would be "...the Eye of Horus (and) its damage." Accepting either of these two translations may help account for the presence of the determinative ⁹ which suggests a connection with the body. Finally, *Wb.* I 35, 13-14 gives "Frevler; Feind." Following that interpretation, the translation would then be "...the Eye of Horus (and) its offender," the noun *i3dt* referring to the god Seth. Since several statements in this spell describe reciprocal activity and that the prescription at the end of the spell involves recitation over images of both Horus and Seth, one could see in the writing of  *i3dt* the word meaning "Feind." The problem with such an interpretation is the absence of any "personal" determinative and the presence of the determinative ⁹.

VIII/12, n. C. The word  *3d* is given at *Wb.* I 24, 12-17, "wütend sein." See especially *Wb.* I 24, 15 where this verb is cited with the preposition *r* and the meaning "lostoben gegen" is given. The paronomasia with the word *i3dt* should be noted.

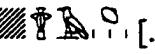
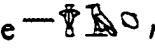
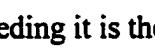
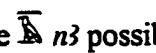
VIII/12, n. D. Beginning with the word  *nsb* and continuing into the next line, it is difficult to ascertain the syntax.  *nsb* is *Wb.* II 334, 11-14, "etw.

"verschlingen" or "etwas ablecken." For a somewhat extended meaning of this verb, see J.-C. Goyon, *Cérémonial* 145, 2 where the phrase *nsb.f r hftyw.k* occurs and his translation is "elle est dardée contre tes ennemis," the suffix pronoun *f* referring to the tongue of Osiris-Khentiamentiu. The present context seems to require a derivative meaning like "devour" or "swallow." See VIII/12, n. E below.

VIII/12, n. E.  *hr* presents problems. It may be the noun at *Wb.* III 321, 7-322, "als verächtliche Bez. für Feind." The problem is that neither of the determinatives  is listed in that entry in the *Wörterbuch*. Alternatively, it could be the noun at *Wb.* III 322, 6-323, 7, whose meaning is "Blutbad" and which is written with the determinative  (Sign-list T30). That word occurs in *BD* and in Ptolemaic Period texts "als Beiwort von Dämonen" referring specifically to the sacrificial victims in apotropaic rituals. If *hr* is a verb, *Wb.* III 319-321, 5 offers "fallen," which occurs with both determinatives  and whose meanings are both transitive and intransitive.

VIII/12, n. F. The word  *ssd* also presents difficulties. It is either the noun at *Wb.* IV 301, 3-10 with the meaning "Binde" or the verb at *Wb.* IV 301, 12-13 "mit einer Binde schmücken." *WbMT* 803 cites a noun whose basic meaning is "Binde." The texts cited there, however, indicate that the word in those contexts has a positive application, employed, for example, in the description of the wrapping of a mummy or binding of a wound. None of the examples cited shows this word used in the sense of binding an enemy in order to restrain him. R.K. Ritner, *Mechanics*, passim but especially 142-144, discusses binding, but nowhere does he discuss the word *ssd*. The word occurs at Edfu in a passage connected with the Eye of Horus. In an address to Horus the king states that

 sp.n.k irt.k m ssd: "You have received your eye, namely the ssd-cloth," (here representing the white crown), for which see *Edfu* I 393, 4. The basic obstacle to understanding this part of the present spell is in determining the reading of this word and the two words that precede it. If all three are verbs, none can be transitive as no noun exists to function as a direct object.

VIII/12, n. G. A small hole in the papyrus prevents an exact reading of the sign that immediately follows. It is quite likely the first sign of the word whose remaining signs  [...]hʒ can be seen here. It may be  mhʒ, a noun cited by *WbMT* 386 as an unknown disease. It occurs in *pChester Beatty VI* vs. 1, 5. Alternatively, it may be — nhʒ, a noun given at *WbMT* 471, citing *pEbers* 108, 17-109, 2 (*Eb* 874a) where it qualifies the noun ‘ʒt "Geschwultz" and has the meaning "uneben; ruhrig." *Wb.* II 290, 5-14 cites a similarly written adjective "wild; schrecklich; gefährlich." Additionally, *WbMT* 583 cites a noun  hʒ "Krankheit." The most attractive reading is  whʒ, *Wb.* I 347, 8-10, "etwas Krankhaftes das unter Umständen zum Tode führen." That word is written mostly as a plural which suggests that the group  nʒ preceding it is the plural definite article. Furthermore, whʒ appears in a text on the sarcophagus of Ankhnesneferibre: šp hr.tn mi hr n whʒ: "May your face be blinded like the face of the whʒ-fiend," the whʒ-fiend standing parallel to the enemies of Re; see C.E. Sander-Hansen, *Anchnesneferibre* 121-122. Additionally, the article  nʒ possibly qualifies  hnsw as well, a noun which is also written here as a plural.

VIII/13, n. H.  *hnsw* is a derivation of Khonsu. *WbMT* 661 follows *Wb.* III

300, 12 in giving the meaning "swelling," probably based on Khonsu's lunar associations. In addition, it gives a meaning "Krankheit des Kopfhaares."

VIII/13, n. I.  *i3btt* is certain. The translation "left side" is based on the entry given at *Wb.* I 30, 14.

VIII/13, n. J. The preposition *n* after  *r whm*: "again" suggests that the phrase  "...of Nephthys" stands in parallel construction to the phrase to  "...of Isis."

VIII/13, n. K.  *nbd* is *Wb.* II 247, 6-7, "der Böse, als Bez. des Apophis und des Seth." The word has been discussed by H. Kees, *ZÄS* 59 (1924) 69-70, who associates this demon or aspect of Seth with the darkness of night. See also A. Klassens, *SocBehague* 4, p. 32 c.1 and 6, p. 37 c.3 where he offers the translation "demon of the dark."

VIII/14, n. L.  *nhs* is *Wb.* II 287, 14-16, "Bez. des Seth als Tier." See also J.-C. Goyon, *Kêmi* 19 (1969) 41 who believes the term is a surname of Seth.

VIII/14, n. M. The group  *iwy* presents difficulties. What is left of the determinative is a vertical stroke. *Wb.* I 49, 20 gives a noun , "Art Strauch," but such a meaning makes little sense here. *Wb.* I 48, 11-13 offers another noun , "Böses; Sünde." The verb governing this noun means to "avert" or "turn away," suggesting a negative idea like "evil" or "malice." See J. Borghouts, *AEM* 71 (95) where the word appears in the phrase *iw n ntr* which is translated "divine plague." The sign  (Sign-list R8) may have preceded *iwy* here, yielding a similar idea.

VIII/14, n. N.  *nw* is either *Wb.* I 188, 13-189, 7, "umwenden" or *Wb.* I 189, 8-16, "wiederum." The former meaning is adopted here.

VIII/14, n. O. The traces after  *ii m*: "...come with..." preserve  *ii m wpt* is *Wb. I 304, 4, "kommen mit einem Auftrag (mit einer Botschaft)." pLeiden I 348* provides several parallels: rt. 3, 3: *ii.n.f m wpt R^c n Pth*: "He has come with a message of Re for Ptah;" and rt. 10, 1: *ii.n.f m wpt nt dhwty r dsr-tp*: "He has come with a message of Thoth for Djeser-tep." The lack of an expressed subject for the verb *ii* points to its use here as an imperative, but it remains unclear who is to bring the message. There is not enough room after the writing of  and the beginning of the rubric for the name of a god.

VIII/15, n. P. For parallels to drawing images on the body, see *pLeiden I 348* rt. 12, 6-7 where a recipe concludes with *dd tw r3 pn hr twt-2 n dhwty s5 hr drt n s*: "This spell should be recited over two images of Thoth drawn on the hand of a man." See also rt. 12, 10 of the same text where a prescription concludes with nineteen images to be drawn on the belly of a man, *hr mny im.f* "on the sore spot on him." The drawing of images on the ear, in the present text, equates that part of the body with the locus of an original cosmic conflict, the outcome of which has already been determined. For a recent discussion of such magical images, see P. Eschweiler, *Bildzauber* 254-256.

TRANSLATION AND COMMENTARY OF SPELL K

(COLUMN VIII, 15 - 18)

(P. BROOKLYN 47.218.49)

15.*Another spell.* Upon your face,^a dead male.^b The lord of the Tribunal of Thirty,^c the excellent ram^d
16. with the punishment^e of fire.^f Tie up^g with the sinew (?)^h of a bull (?),ⁱ lord of the Tribunal of Thirty.^j You shall not inform against^k
17. me as Horus. You shall not rebel against me as the Evil One. Flee the excellent ram^l, be killed^m by [...]
18. You are fallenⁿ upon the ground,^o branded^p upon the left side.^q Upon your face, dead male. Dry up.^r *To be recited four times.*^s

COMMENTARY

General Remarks: The text of this spell can be established, but the syntax is problematic. There are several epithets whose references remain unclear. Although I have found one parallel to this spell, it is not close, and it presents difficulties as well. The present spell may focus on the tribunal held after the struggle between Horus and Seth to resolve the inheritance of the kingship.

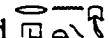
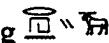
VIII/15, n. A. The phrase  *hr hr.k:* "Upon your face..." occurs routinely in protection texts as a command to the forces of evil to place themselves in posture of submission. See, for example, A. Klassens, *SocBehague* 81, n.4.

VIII/15, n. B. The writing  *nbt* for the masculine form of the adjective  *nb:* "every" is commonly encountered in Late Period texts. On its meaning and grammatical function here, see VIII/15, n. C following.

VIII/15, n. C. The group $\times\ddot{\text{w}}\text{yr}$ is *m'b3yt*, the noun given at *Wb.* II 46, 16-17 with the basic meaning "der Gerichtshof der Dreissig." As such, it can indicate any board of high authority, including a tribunal of the gods. R. Greishammer, *Jenseitsgericht* 97 ff., states that it was originally the name of an Old Kingdom court that later became used of tribunals encountered in mythological texts and those dealing with the Netherworld; A.H. Gardiner, *pChester Beatty I* 14, n. 3, claims that it was the traditional grand jury of Egypt; S. Sauneron, *Esna V* 257 ff., states that the word refers to the first thirty gods or divine manifestations created by Neith; R.A. Parker *et al.*, *Lake Edifice* 85, support Sauneron's interpretation and see the number thirty as referring to the sum of the ten *ba*'s, the ten names, and the ten *ka*'s of Amun, called "the *m'b3yt* of the beginning." The phrase *nb m'b3yt* is an epithet of the god Khnum in *pChester Beatty IX* vs. B 16, 8 where Gardiner translates it as "Lord of the Hall of Thirty." Given the occurrence of the word *rhnt*: "ram" here, one may be tempted to see a connection between its use as an epithet of the god Khnum and its role in the Brooklyn text. However, according to P. Behrens, *LÄ 6* 1243-1245 ("Widder") only the terms *b3* and *Sf* are used generally of Khnum ; *rhnt* is used as a designation of the god Amun. The distinction seems to favor an interpretation that has Theban overtones. For this possible connection, see VIII/15, n. D that follows.

An alternative interpretation is to see $\times\ddot{\text{w}}\text{yr}$ as a variant writing of *Wb.* II 47, 1-3, "Art Speer." The phrase $\text{S}\times\ddot{\text{w}}\text{yr nb m'b3yt}$ would then be translated as "Lord of the Harpoon," a common epithet of Horus of Edfu and that of one of the Guardian-gods of Edfu. For a recent discussion, see J.-C. Goyon, *Les dieux-gardiens* 50-52. See further at VIII/15, n. D following. Of

course, the presence of the determinative □ and the lack of the determinative | argue against the latter interpretation.

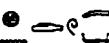
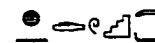
VIII/15, n. D. The word  *rhnt* also presents problems. *Wb.* II 440, 4-441, 7 gives seven words with this spelling, only two of which are nouns. The determinative points to an animal of some sort. *Wb.* II 441, 1-3 offers "der heilige Widder des Amun;" "Widdersphinx," with the writing  . The determinative  (Sign-list F27) is not given. *WbMT* does not cite this word. P. Behrens, "Widder," *LÄ* 6 1243-1245, states that the term *rhnt* is restricted to Amun. G.A. Wainwright, *JEA* 21 (1934) 141-146, a reference that should be used with caution, discusses the etymology of several of the words spelled with the root *rhn*. He claims that the *rhnt*-ram was a manifestation of Amun that played an important role in controlling the flood waters at Thebes and sees the idea of "wade" in its root. The word occurs at *pChester Beatty VII* vs. I, 6 in a simile describing Seth's attack on the goddess Anat: *iw.f hr p3yy mi p3y rhnt*: "he leaps like a ram leaps." The word also appears twice in a Turin magical text, for which see *pTurin* pl. 136, ll. 9 and 11. In that text, it occurs in the phrase *rhnt s3 siw*: "ram, son of the sow," apparently referring to a being enlisted as an aid against *hft*: "the enemy." In a study of the role of the ram as a protector, J. Borghouts, *RdE* 32 (1980) 33-46, discusses the passage in the Turin papyrus. Although he notes that the use of term *rhnt* is usually restricted to the god Amun, he argues for a more generalized interpretation of the word in the Turin text, given that the "ram" there is called "the son of the sheep, with the looks of Seth, a master of mysteries, the offspring of Min, the offspring of Geb." He also rejects Wainwright's interpretation of the word's meaning and suggests a meaning "recliner" citing its connection with the verb *rhn*, "lean"

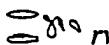
given at *Wb.* II 440, 4-8. It is interesting to observe that *oNash* 14 contains a parallel to the Turin text, with  "child" in place of the term *rhnt* of the Turin text, an indication, perhaps, of the difficulty that even an ancient scribe had interpreting the meaning of *rhnt*. Whatever the word's actual meaning, Borghouts has clearly established in his study that the term *rhnt* can refer to a divine protector.

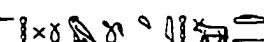
rhnt ikr" "excellent ram," thus, refers in all likelihood to a divine force or manifestation, possibly associated with Amun, whose task it is to subdue the malevolent being. If the phrase does have strictly Theban connections, then it is strange that none of the texts discussed by R.A. Parker *et al.*, *Lake Edifice*, give *rhnt* as a name or manifestation of the god Amun. Additionally, rams are often mentioned or depicted in a religious texts playing an apotropaic role but the word *rhnt* is not encountered. Furthermore, although ram-headed gods regularly appear in the sun-barque in roles of protection, the word used to describe them is invariably *sr*, one of the generic terms for the word "ram." Finally, the ram is routinely encountered in the *Coffin Texts* in such a role of protection, but the term used there is *b3*.

VIII/16, n. E.  *m dbw* appears to be the prepositional phrase cited by *Wb.* V 559, 11-14, "als Belohnung für; als Ersatz für." Note, however, that the writing  is given there. An alternative explanation is to take the group  as the verb at *Wb.* V 558, 9-15, "verstopfen" and to understand the preceding sign  *m* as the negative imperative marker. The translation would then be: "Do not stop fire," an interpretation that seems doubtful. The relationship of this group to what precedes and to what follows is problematic.

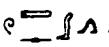
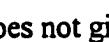
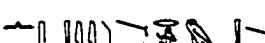
VIII/16, n. F. The fire mentioned here is the agent that is intended to dry up the inimical force, as can be seen in VIII/18 below.

VIII/16, n. G.  is certain. None of the words *hnd* given at *Wb.* III 312, 15-314, 18 have the determinatives . *pAnastasi* 2 2,7 has the word *hndw* written . In his translation of that text, R.A. Caminos, *CLEM* 42, suggests the meaning "tie up," which appears to suit the present context.

VIII/16, n. H.  *rwd* is *Wb.* II 410, 2-6, "Bogensehne; Sehne." On its meaning in the passage, see VIII/16, n. I following.

VIII/16, n. I.  *hndw m rwd n k3 t3* seems to mean "Tie with the sinew of a <male> bull." The closest parallel to this phrase is in *Urk.* VI, 5 in an execration ritual performed on an image of Seth. That statement reads:  *snhw m rwd n ih d3rt:* "Bind (the image of Seth) with the tendon of a red ox."

VIII/16, n. J. For  *nb m b3yt*, see VIII/16, n. C above.

VIII/16, n. K.  *w3s* is *Wb.* I 384, 1-2, "aussprechen; verherrlichen; anzeigen; verraten." The entry there does not give the signs  as possible determinatives. The determinative  (Sign-list D54) is found with a number of words spelled  *ts*, *Wb.* V 405, 1-407, 15. Since *w3s* and *ts* are related, the conflation of the determinative  is understandable. *w3s* here must have a negative meaning as suggested by the parallel phrase  *nn sbi.k r.i m B:* "You shall not rebel against me as the Evil One." The preposition *n* here may be an error for *r*. It is also possible that the determinatives indicate that the meaning "rise up" is to be taken in a negative sense like "revolt".

VIII/17, n. L. For *rhnt*, see VIII/15, n. D above.

VIII/17, n. M. *hdb* is *Wb.* III 403, 3-13, "töten." The problem here is whether the verb is active or passive. Whatever the case may be, it parallels the verb *hr* that follows.

VIII/18, n. N. *hr* is *Wb.* III 319-321, 5, "fallen." The pronoun *tw* points to a writing of the stative here.

VIII/18, n. O. The traces suggest *s3t*, *Wb.* III 423, 7-424, 12, "Erde."

VIII/18, n. P. *wbd* is *Wb.* I 297, 1-6, "brennen." It is also used of burning food-offerings, especially animals in apotropaic rituals, for which see *Wb.* I 297, 3. *Wb.* I 297, 7-9 offers the noun "das Brennen, der Brand"; "die Brandwunde." It is unclear which word is intended here; the general sense, nonetheless, seems clear. The noun occurs twice in *pLeiden I 348*, at vs. 3, 1 and 2, as a term for a burn that the child Horus suffers. In the first occurrence in that text, it refers to the burn caused by the flame of Sakhmet. See further at VIII/18, n. R below.

VIII/18, n. Q. *ibtr*: "linke Seite" is *Wb.* I 30, 14. It also occurs above at VIII/13 above.

VIII/18, n. R. *wsr* is *Wb.* I 374, 10-19, "trocknen, verdorren." It should be noted that the spell here speaks of fire and branding, obvious remedies for a malevolent being associated with moisture. These terms also may allude further to the god Amun in his function as a solar deity.

VIII/18, n. S. For a parallel to in this text, see V/12 above.

TRANSLATION AND COMMENTARY OF SPELL L

(COLUMN VIII, 18-IX, 5)

(P. BROOKLYN 47.218.49)

18.Another
19. spell for reciting spells (against)^A the heat of [the ear ... 2 cm. ...]^B time.^C Hail to you, Re, Lord of^D [... 3 cm. ...] child,^E Horus the Elder^F who is

COLUMN IX

1. in Heliopolis, divine manifestation^G of [... 2 cm. ...] you make fall every enemy, every fiend, every dead male, every dead female, [every male adversary]
2. every female adversary, every *k3p*-demon,^H every *imn*-demon^I who makes all his forms^J unrecognizable,^K who makes heat in the ear of Pharaoh, l.p.h.^L
3. in his flesh, in his temple, in all his body, in all these limbs of his, who gives it in sleep,^M in wakefulness.^N
4. Remind^O him^P (?) of^Q his evil in the necropolis. It is^R the father of Psamtik,^S the Bull in Heliopolis,^T
5. who will cause to fall^U every dead male, every dead female, every male adversary, every female adversary every heat that makes mischief^V therein.

COMMENTARY

General Remarks: The text of this spell can be established despite a few minor lacunae. The mythological allusions focus on Heliopolis. The divinities of that town are asked to destroy the numerous malign forces who make "heat in the ear of the Pharaoh."

VIII/19, n. A. For  *sni*, see VII/13, n. BJ for a discussion of its meaning and translation there. *Wb.* IV 496, 8 cites its occurrence followed by the name of a disease written as a direct genitive, as is the case here.

VIII/19, n. B. Restore, probably,  *msdr*: "ear" at the beginning of the lacuna.

VIII/19, n. C. The use of black ink for the writing of the sign ^o (Sign-list NS) in the word  *3t*: "time" may be due to its common occurrence in the writing of the name of the god Re.

VIII/19, n. D. On the writing of  *nbt* for  *nb*, see VIII/15, n. B above.

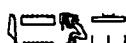
VIII/19, n. E.  (Sign-list A17) is probably the determinative of  *hrd* or  *sr*, both of which mean "child." Alternatively, it could be an ideogrammatic writing of either of those words.

VIII/19, n. F. The traces at the end of the line show a writing of  *smsw*: "elder." The phrase *hr smsw* appears as an epithet of the god Haroeris, for which see D. Kurth, *LÄ* 2 999-1003, especially 999.

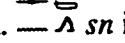
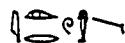
IX/1, n. G.  *'hm* is given at *Wb.* I 225, 4 as a variant writing of  *'hm* "Götterbild," *Wb.* I 225, 15-226, 5. Alternatively, J. Zandee, *Death* 194 sees it as a demoniacal animal.

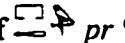
IX/2, n. H.  *k3p*: "k3p-demon" is *Wb.* V 105, 1, "als Bez. eines Krankheitsdämons (neben *imn*)," citing *pHearst* 7, 4-6 (H 85). *BD* 151 refers to a demon whose name is *k3p-hr* "Hidden of Face" who also appears in the so-called standard texts of "magical bricks," which are essentially drawn from *BD* 151. See M. Heerma van Voss, *LÄ* 6, 1402.

IX/2, n. I. For  *imn*: "imn-demon," see *Wb.* I 84, 14, "Name des Krankheit bringenden, spukenden Toten," again citing *pHearst* 7, 4-6 (H 85). For a discussion of these demons, see J. Borghouts, *pLeiden* I 348 68, n. 98. See

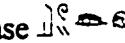
also S. Sauneron, *Un Traité* 114 who discusses the similarly written word  as it occurs in that text and assigns the meaning "dard," claiming to see a parallel in the present passage. Curiously, he makes the assertion there that "Le mot *imnw* n'est pas jusqu'ici connu..."

IX/2, n. J.  *irw*: "forms" has the additional determinative  (Sign-list Z6) to emphasize that the manifestations of this malign force are inherently dangerous.

IX/2, n. K.  *sn* is the verb given at *Wb.* III 457, 12-13, "seine Gestalt unkenntlich machen." *Wb.* III 457, 13 cites the use of this verb in connection with the noun  *irw*: "forms."

IX/2, n. L. The two hieratic strokes that follow the writing of  *pr* 3: "pharaoh" are a common abbreviation for  *nh wd3 snb*: "life, prosperity and health" in Late Period texts. See G. Möller, *HP* III 67, n.2.

IX/3, n. M.  *kd*, is *Wb* V. 79, 7-8, "der Schlaf."

IX/3, n. N. None of the meanings given for the phrase  *rswy tp* at *Wb.* II 450, 22-451, 12 fit the present context. *rswy* could be a writing of *Wb.* II 452, 1-4 with the meaning "der Traum." Alternatively, it could be a writing of the noun given cited at *Wb.* II 451, 20-22 with the meaning "Wachsamkeit." In either of these cases, the writing of  *tp* would be a scribal error originating perhaps in the common occurrence of the phrase *rswy tp*. It seems that what is needed here is not to link the two ideas of sleep and dream but rather to emphasize the antithesis between sleep and wakefulness. Such an idea would underscore the idea that the threats of the malevolent beings were constant, not just simply occurring at night. For a parallel, see Y. Koenig, *RdE* 33 (1981) on *pDeM* 40 1 where a list of inimical forces is described as *ii m grh m hrw m nw nb* "who

come at night, in the day, at any time." There is also a parallel in the present text at XII/8.

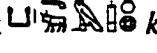
IX/4, n. O.  *sh3w* is *Wb.* IV 232, 12-233, 26, "sich erinnern; gedenken." The context suggests that it is to be taken as an imperative.

IX/4, n. P. The dependent pronoun  *sw*: "him; it" seems to refer to one of the malevolent beings.

IX/4, n. Q. The hieratic sign is a writing of either the preposition — or — although the damage to the papyrus makes certainty difficult. Elsewhere in this text, the sign — is simply written as a straight horizontal line with no flourishes.

IX/4, n. R. The particle  *in* introduces the following noun  *it.f* as an emphatic subject of the verb *shrw.f* which follows at the beginning of IX/5.

IX/4, n. S. The group  *it.f Psmtk k3 m Twnw* presents problems. The relationship between the word  *it.f* and the name Psamtik appears to be one of apposition, but such a reading would make Psamtik both the one threatened and his own savior. It seems to make better sense to emend the text from  to  and to take the name Psamtik as a direct genitive. The translation would then be "It is the father of Psamtik, the Bull in Heliopolis..." See IX/4, n. T immediately following.

IX/4, n. T. The epithet  *k3 m Twnw*: "Bull in Heliopolis" is found as an epithet of Re as early as the Pyramid Texts. It often refers to Re in his visible manifestation as the Mnevis-bull, for which see J.-C. Goyon, *pConfirmation* 92, n. 83 and *Les dieux-gardiens* 430. See also the discussion by J. Zandee, *Amunhymnus* II 419-423. To the best of my knowledge, the phrase is not attested as a royal epithet. It must then refer to a deity, in all likelihood the god

Re who is invoked at the beginning of the spell. Such an interpretation further argues for the emendation suggested at IX/4, n. S above.

IX/5, n. U.  *f* that occurs with the verb  *shr* is the resumptive pronoun commonly found when a verb is preceded by the particle *in* and an emphatic subject.

IX/5, n. V.    *t3wh* is given at *Wb.* V 233, 8 with an undetermined meaning. R.O. Faulkner *CD* 294 offers the meaning "make mischief," citing *Merikare 27*, a nuance which suits the context here.

TRANSLATION AND COMMENTARY OF SPELL M

(COLUMN IX, 5-7)

(P. BROOKLYN 47.218.49)

5. *Another*
6. *Spell.* Flow out,^a dead male, dead female, male adversary, female adversary, you who come in the darkness^b to make heat in the ear of
7. Pharaoh. Then Re will rise in heaven and then Osiris will set^c in the necropolis.

COMMENTARY

General Remarks: This spell has numerous parallels in texts that deal with scorpion bites.

IX/6, n. A.  *śp* is *Wb.* IV 443, 14-444, 7, "ausfliessen." *śp* occurs commonly in spells dealing with scorpion bites where either the poison, the scorpion itself, or both are ordered to leave the body of the sufferer and to fall upon the ground. See A. Erman, *MuK* 1,9; A.H. Gardiner, *pChester Beatty VII* r.1, 4 and p. 56, n. 2; and J.F. Borghouts, *pLeiden I* 348 rt. 3, 2 where it occurs in an address to a *niwt śt3w*: "a hidden vessel" in the head which is causing a headache. It also appears in *pChester Beatty IX* vs.B I, 2 where it is addressed to *hft* "enemy," a usage that conforms closely to that in the present text.

IX/7, n. B. For the epithet  *ii m kkw*: "who comes in the darkness" referring to a malign being, see *MuK* 1, 9 where a malevolent demon so described occurs. It should be noted that the address to the malign being there also begins with the phrase  *śp.k*: "Flow out..." The intent of the demon described in that text is to harm or take away the child whom the magical spells are to protect.

IX/7, n. C. The non-enclitic particle ---^{\bullet} *hr* which introduces the two verbal clauses indicates result; see AH. Gardiner *EG*³ § 239. The idea here is that the harmony of the patient's body corresponds to cosmic order. The idea of Re and Osiris as complementary manifestations of the rising and setting sun seems to have been fully developed by D. XXI; see A. Niwinski in *JEOL* 30 (1987-88) 89-106 who traces the development of the unification of these two eschatological concepts.

TRANSLATION AND COMMENTARY OF SPELL N
(COLUMNS IX, 7-XII, 16)
(P. BROOKLYN 47.218.49)

7. *Other spells for fumigating^a*
8. *the ear,^b dispelling heat, turning back a dead male, a dead female from the ear.* O
Re!^c O Atum! O Khepri!^d O Shu!
9. O Tefnut! O Geb ! O Nut ! O Osiris! O Horus!^e O Seth! O Isis! O Nephthys!^f O
Hu!
10. O Sia!^g O Wepwawet! O Anubis! O Isdes!^h O he who shakes the heaven!ⁱ O he
who shakes
11. *the earth!^j O god who sees! O god who hears!^k O Thoth!^l O Gods of the South! O
Gods of the North! O Gods*
12. *of the West! O Gods of the East!^m O Great Ennead which is in heaven! O Great
Ennead which is on earth! O*
13. *Great Ennead who are in the necropolis!ⁿ O Four Great Falcons^o who sit*
14. *in the prow of the barque of Re^p when he rises in the eastern horizon of heaven,
when he sets in the western horizon of heaven!*
15. *O Four Great Uraei^q who are in the entourage^r of the barque of Re! O Great Cat^s*
16. *who guards over the Meskener-barque of Re when he rises in the eastern horizon
of heaven!^t O all these gods*
17. *(of) numerous faces (and) uraei!^u O Four Great protectors who sit in the presence
of their Lord!^v*
18. *O [...] 3 cm. ...] all ... eternity, those who do^w [...] 1.5 cm. ...] eternity.^x O [...] 3 cm.
...] whose faces are secret.^y*

COLUMN X

1. O millions of gods [whose names]^z are not known in heaven (on) earth (or in) the Duat!^{^^} O all these gods (and) goddesses! O
2. (you) whose names are pronounced!^{BB} Come! May you dispel a dead male, dead female, heat from the ear of Psamtik I.p.h.. He^{CC} shall not make
3. his slaughter in him.^{DD} He shall not cast out his load^{EE} against him. He shall not make his heart forgetful.^{FF} He shall not make
4. his heart bitter.^{GG} He shall not make a gnawing^{HH} in his limbs, not make a holding back when he goes forth.^{II} He shall not make a trembling^{JJ} in his limbs.
5. He shall not eat from his flesh.^{KK} He shall not take away his mouth.^{LL} He shall not seize his words.^{MM} He shall not blind his eyes.^{NN} He shall not make deaf his ears.^{OO}
6. Get back, enemy, fiend, dead male, dead female and so on who make heat in the ear of Psamtik. You are come forth.^{PP}
7. You lead to me the manifestations^{QQ} of the great gods. You cause them to know^{RR} everyone and everything^{SS} majestic,^{TT} whose
8. potency^{UU} is great, whose names are numerous, powerful (in)^{VV} all periods of time, whose forms are secret in the hidden place.^{WW}
9. You have arisen.^{XX} You see everything (and) there is nothing concealed in it when you look.^{YY} Lo, your eyes are blinded by^{ZZ} the things (that) you see.^{AA}
10. You have been raised to the land therein.^{AB} You see the gods. You guide heaven.^{AC} You descend (from)^{AD} earth to the Duat. You know what is in it. You speak of an image^{AE} of
11. Osiris Wennefer in the necropolis which shall not be known.^{AF} The gods that are in the underworld(^{?AG}) which came to pass

12. on the First Occasion.^{AH} curse you.^{AI} O enemy, fiend, dead male, dead female,
male adversary, female adversary and so on, male heat, female heat
13. who are in the ear of Psamtik, l.p.h. Do you not remember ^{AJ} the saying which
you make: ^{AK} see^{AL} (god) so and so^{AM} in the secret place^{AN}
14. like the southern heaven,^{AO} his face that of a *ba*, his eyes of fire,^{AP} his arms those
of a cat,^{AQ} his mouth of
15. fire.^{AR} O enemy, fiend, dead male, dead female, male adversary, female adversary
and so on who are in the ear of Pharaoh. You say:^{AS} I see the image^{AT} in
16. the eastern horizon of heaven. You say: I uncover its august wrapping.^{AU} I see the
head of Hathor,^{AV}
17. namely^{AW} the secret (and) concealed image. O enemy, fiend, dead male, dead
female, male adversary, female adversary and so on, who make heat in the ear
18. of Pharaoh l.p.h. You say: it means I have come from Rosetau while following the
paths^{AX} [... 3 cm. ...on the] night^{AY} (when)^{AZ}
19. Anubis [came]^{BA} from Busiris. He has embalmed^{BB} Osiris^{BC} in the Place of
Purification [... 1 cm. ...]^{BD} He [... 3 cm. ...]. Lo,

COLUMN XI

1. Osiris (and) Isis^{BE} sleep(?) upon their bellies,^{BF} while protecting Wennefer. Fall,
indeed,^{BG} after^{BH} you say it.^{BI} O enemy, fiend
2. dead male, dead female who makes this illness^{BU} in the ear of Psamtik. You say^{BK}: I
see what has been done^{BL} against Osiris^{BM} by [...]^{BN}
3. Lo, every eye which sees them^{BO} is blind immediately. Likewise,^{BP} you tell^{BQ} the
secrets (?)^{BR} when (?) Shu(?)^{BS} seized... (?) Behold,^{BT} [Hapi]^{BU}

4. who enters into the necropolis.^{bv} He has seized^{bw} the things that are in it.^{bx} O enemy, fiend, dead male, dead female who are in the head, (in) the ears of [Pharaoh],^{by}
5. you are fighting against the Two Companions, the Two Brothers. Are^{bz} Geb, the prince,^{ca} (and) the gods against the utterance^{cb} of Maat? You say:^{cc}
6. The enemy of Re is sleeping^{cd} in Letopolis.^{ce} All the gods are in their shrines. Lo, the Ennead are in fear (?)^{cf}
7. upon their faces. Likewise,^{cg} you speak to^{ch} the four gods who descend from heaven,^{ci} their faces (those) of a falcon, their arms
8. (those) of a lion.^{cj} They speak, they go forth united.^{ck} They enter into the tent^{cl} in Letopolis
9. dispelling the dead male, dead female, heat from the temple of Psamtik. O enemy, fiend, dead male, dead female and so on who are in the ear
10. of Pharaoh. You say the image(s) (are) in Kheretaha^{cm} (and) (?) the gods^{cn} who are in their following. You carry^{co} the images to the outside^{cp}
11. who are in the following of the Great God. They live,^{cq} sleeping.^{cr} The gods, they proceed^{cs} upon their heads^{ct}
12. in possession of their *akh*'s.^{cu} They do not eat, they do not drink because they live on Maat.^{cv} The gods who are in
13. it,^{cw} they sleep in the ring of fire,^{cx} surrounded^{cy} by a Sacred Lake.^{cz} No eye shall see them.^{da} If (there is) one who^{db}
14. sees them^{dc} he is blinded immediately. A cat^{dd} of seven cubits exists within^{de} with his head;^{df} the *hiw*-serpent:^{dg} it shall not^{dh} be approached by any eye except^{di}

15. him himself.^{pt} Behold, the Ennead of Kheretaha.^{pk} They dispel the dead male,
dead female, male adversary, female adversary and so on who
16. make heat in the ear of Psamtik. O enemy, fiend, dead male, dead female who
make heat in the head
17. in the temple, in the ear of Pharaoh after you say, I have come from Letopolis. I
have seen the Divine Tribunal^{pl} that sits upon
18. the thrones of copper^{pm} [... 2 cm. ...] their arms upon the ground^{pn} [... 1.5 cm. ...]^{po}
in their names to say his name [...] he shall not
19. cut through^{pr} [... 2.5 cm. ...] moment. O enemy, fiend, dead male, [dead female,
male]^{po} adversary female adversary who make heat (and) put (their) enmity in
the head, in the temple in the ears^{pr}

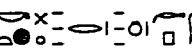
COLUMN XII

1. of Psamtik, l.p.h. You know and you say: beautiful Iunu^{ps} comes forth, lord of
renewing beauty every day,
2. who makes men (and) the gods from his limbs, who dispels the darkness after he
comes into being, who is lord of all, king of the gods,
3. great ruler is his name.^{pt} O Khepri, Re, may you dispel the dead male, dead female,
male adversary, female adversary, the male heat, the female heat who are in the
head of
4. Pharaoh. O enemy, fiend, dead male, dead female, male adversary, female
adversary who are in the head, in the temple, in the ear of Pharaoh after you
say: I see the image
5. of the secret shrine^{pu} in heaven. Be far from^{pv} *hn̥r̥3m* (?)^{pw} upon earth. He grabs
hold of^{px} the secret Duat.^{py}

6. Evil against you,^{o2} dead male, dead female, and so on who make heat in the ear of Pharaoh. Lo, there is no evil against Psamtik. O enemy, fiend,
7. dead male, dead female, male adversary, female adversary and so on, male heat, female heat, the fornicator who transgresses by day^{ea}, the tail^{eb} that dances^{ec}
8. against the ears of Psamtik, who comes to descend against him^{ed} by night, by day (and) at any time. You are dispelled,
9. you are repelled, you are fallen, you are driven away. You do not endure in the head, in the temple, in the ears of Pharaoh. All of the gods
10. [cause you to be]^{ee} far from Pharaoh like the tongue of the crocodile is far from him,^{ef} for the length of eternity and of eternity. To be recited when Re
11. rises in his horizon and draw all of these gods upon a new *mht*-bowl,^{eg} an image in color^{eh} smeared with honey, washed^{ei}
12. [...] with sweet beer, drunk by a man who suffering illness in his head, who is suffering heat in his ears, and he draws upon a strip^{ek} of
13. fine linen,^{el} a god in his image.(?) Smear with fine oil,^{em} myrrh,^{en} place amulets at the throat of a man. If
14. he is healthy, he is smeared with honey thrown into water.^{eo} If he is not healthy, smear the amulets with oil (and) smear the ear. Lo
15. not [...] with the 'ft-plant,^{ep} immersed^{eq} in laudanum every day and he has been painted with a part^{er} of the 'ft-plant immersed
16. in honey likewise.

COMMENTARY

General Remarks: This spell is the longest of those preserved in this papyrus. The mythological allusions are numerous, as are parallels from other texts.

IX/7-8, n. A.  *ky ht r3w nw k3p*: "Other spells for fumigating..." is certain. For *ky ht* as the plural of *ky*: "other," see A.H. Gardiner *EG* § 98; see also J.P. Allen, *Middle Egyptian* 6.7.

IX/8, n. B. The full phonetic writing of  *msdr*: "ear" occurs only here in this text.

IX/8, n. C. The invocation  *i R*: "O Re!" begins a petition of deities to come to the king in order to act as agents for his protection. Such lists are common in magical texts. *pChester Beatty V* 4,1 has a similar, although shorter, one, and the names of the gods invoked there appear in a different order. *pChester Beatty VIII* r.10 has several lists of invoked deities which are similar to that of the Brooklyn text. See J. Borghouts, *pLeiden I* 348 168-169 n. 405, for references to further examples of such appeals to the pantheon.

IX/8, n. D. The three deities invoked at the beginning of this long apostrophe, Re, Atum, and Khepri, are manifestations of the sun-god. Re denotes the sun-god proper or when he appears at the summit of the sky; Atum refers to his manifestation as the setting or dying sun; Khepri is used of the manifestation of the rising or reborn sun. For these three aspects of the sun-god, see J. Assmann, *LÄ* 1 936 and 2 764-765; J.P. Allen, *Genesis* 10-11; J. Assman, *Solar Religion*, *passim*. but especially 39, n.10.

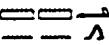
IX/9, n. E. The occurrence of Horus right after Osiris is somewhat unusual unless we see in this name a reference to the "Elder Horus," a god known from the Pyramid Texts as belonging to the same generation as Seth and Osiris. See II/9, n. O above on *hr hnty-hm* which gives a reference to a text that names Horus as one of the children of Nut. See also IX/9, n. F following. For a discussion of

this god and his confusion with the younger Horus, son of Isis, see R. Anthes,
SA 9 (1983) 120-121

IX/9, n. F. The group beginning with Shu and ending with Nephthys gives the names of the gods who form the Heliopolitan Ennead, excluding Atum but including Horus. See IX/9, n. E above.

IX/10, n. G. The pair Hu and Sia, personifications of "utterance" and "perception," often appear in connections with the creator god(s). They are also associated with the progression of the sun-barque, for which see *pConfirmation* 91, n. 72 with references; J.P. Allen, *Genesis* 38, and H. Altenmüller, *LA* 3, 65-68 and 66 esp. for their associations with Heka and other aspects of magic.

IX/10, n. H. On the god Isdes, see the discussion at VII/9, n. AQ above.

IX/11, n. I.  *mnnmn*: is *Wb.* II 80-81, 1-15, "schwanken (von die Erde)." See IX/9, N. J that follows.

IX/11, n. J. The epithet "he who shakes the earth" usually refers to Geb. The theme of shaking the earth is already well known in the Pyramid Texts and continues well into the Ptolemaic Period with more general references to divine or royal epiphany. For a discussion, see C. Traunecker, *Coptos* 153-154, n. 1, 341-351, and 344-347 especially. See further R.A. Parker *et al.*, *Lake Edifice* 58, n. 37, where the phrase *mnnmn Gb* is explained as an equivalent to *mnnmn t3*. See also J.-C. Goyon, *pConfirmation* III, 19-20 and 96, n. 115. Additionally see *pTurin* 1983 rt. 60, an oracular amuletic decree, which has the phrase *iw.n šd st m dt p3 nty rdit ktkt p3 iwtw mtw dd mnnmn*: "We shall save her from the one who shakes the earth and who is called the Mover. A similar pairing of "one who shakes the earth" with "one who shakes heaven" possibly occurs at VI/3 above, for which see VI/3, n. LL and n. MM.

IX/11, n. K. The two gods, identified simply as  *m33*: "the god who sees" and  *sdm*: "the god who hears" are known from texts and representations that date from as early as D. XVIII. They often appear in conjunction with Thoth, as they do here, and Seshat. See E. Brunner-Traut, *Frägen* 125-145 for a discussion of their history.

IX/11, n. L. The group  is to be read *dhwty*: "Thoth," for which see *Wb.* V 606. This writing of the name of the god Thoth is known as early as the Middle Kingdom.

IX/11, n. M. An address to the gods of the four cardinal points occurs in the same order in *pChester Beatty VIII* r.10, 5. The same order occurs as well at *pConfirmation I*, 9. On the orientation and order in which the four cardinal points appear, see D. Kessler, *LÄ 2*, 1213-1215.

IX/13, n. N. The grouping of heaven, earth, and the necropolis parallels a similar sequence of heaven, earth and the Duat found in X/1 below.

IX/13, n. O. Four falcons are often shown as part of the retinue of state ships. They seem to be aspects of the god Monthu and not of Horus, for which see J.F. Borghouts, *LÄ 4*, 200-204. Falcons and *wadjet-eyes* are particularly a dominant motif in the decoration of the sterns and rudders of ships, for which see H. Altenmüller, *LÄ 2* 93-98. Their function there is apotropaic, as it clearly is here. See *pChester Beatty VIII* vs.7, 3 for four falcons (there called *si3w*, not *bikw* as here) in the prow of the solar bark whose role it is to overthrow Apophis. They also appear in *pTurin* pl.136, l. 3 in the prow of the solar barque. See also *BD* 126 where four baboons are found in the prow of the sun barque. J.F. Borghouts, *pLeiden I* 348 184, n. 449 and also n. 424 discusses gods who precede or are found in the prow of the solar-barque.

IX/14, n. P. On the iconography of solar boats, see J. Assman, *Solar Religion* 49-51;

E. Thomas, *JEA* 42 (1956) 79, n. 3 interestingly suggests that the Egyptians used the term  *wi3 n R*: "barque of Re" generically to describe the solar-barque, stating that the terms *mndt* and *mskit* were not two separate barques but different terms to designate the solar-barque in its daily and nightly appearances. See also *pConfirmation* X, 14 and XI, 5 where the names Isis and Nephthys are used of night-barque and the day-barque respectively.

IX/15, n. Q. *LJN* 5 speaks of uraei in the following of the serpent *Mhnt* who form part of the entourage of the sun-barque. *LJN* 10 refers to four uraei who "sting the enemy of fire quickly, rowing before the flame." In the vignettes of the latter text, these uraei form a barrier between this scene and the next which depicts the destruction of Apophis. On uraei and other snakes playing an apotropaic role in texts of the solar cult, see J. Assman, *Solar Religion* 16-37.

IX/15, n. R. The group  is the noun given at *Wb* I 221, 8-9 with the meaning "Menge von Menschen."

IX/15, n. S. For  *miw* 3: "the Great Cat," see *Wb*. II 42, 1-3 which gives it as a manifestation of the sun-god. The first attestation of this epithet occurs in *FECT* 335 (*CT* IV, 282). Its association with Re occurs also in *BD* 15: "I am the big cat beside whom the *isdt*-tree was split in Heliopolis on this night (of battle and of guarding the rebels, on this day) wherein the enemies of the Lord of the Universe were annihilated. [Who] is he? <As for> this <big> cat, he is Re himself. He was called cat when Perception said of him: Such (*miw*) is he in this that he has done." In another New Kingdom religious text , a cat labeled *miw* 3 appears in a row of figures who are all identified as manifestations of the sun-god. All of the other figures are mummiform except the figure named *miw*

'3 who is shown as a large crouching cat. For this text, see A. Piankoff, *The Litany of Re* 13 § 67; and E. Hornung, *AH* 2 (1975) I 64 and II 115, n. 152. See also *Urk* VI 69, 4; 129, 9-10 which give the cat as a manifestation of the sun-god. Additionally, *BD* 151 has the phrase *miw '3* as an epithet of Osiris "...great cat that is in the seat of Truth in whom the light shines." This epithet is also found with Osirian connections in the Karnak Taharqa chapel in a list of the Osirian forms of Re. For this text and references, see R.A. Parker *et al.*, *Lake Edifice* 33, n. 47. At Edfu, Re-Harakhty appears both as a cat and as a lion, for which see *Edfu* V 218, 18 and 269, 19.

IX/16, n. T. The connection between the Mesketet-barque and the eastern horizon seems somewhat peculiar. The term *msktt* is usually used in reference to the solar-barque when crossing the night sky. See *pBremner-Rhind* 28, 14 for a similar confusion. P. Derchain, *Hathor Quadrifons* 28, n. 20 discusses the general confusion in the employment of solar-barque terminology in Late Period texts. See IX/14, n. P above for further remarks on the solar bark.

IX/17, n. U. References to gods who possess numerous faces and uraei are common in these texts, their main role being that of apotropaic or tutelary deities. See, for example, *pIllustré* II, 1-2 where a deity having nine faces is encountered. An accompanying vignette illustrates that being as well. The description in the present passage refers, undoubtedly, to the unknowable nature of the gods and their multiple powers and modes of protection.

IX/17, n. V. Groups of four gods or goddesses, functioning in the capacity of tutelary deities, are often encountered in Egyptian religious texts. The number four is most likely derived from the four cardinal points or from the four cosmic regions which form the cosmos. Numerous parallels to four guardians of

protections can be found in Egyptian texts and representations. One prominent group is the Four Sons of Horus encountered repeatedly in funerary texts and vignettes. See *pChester Beatty VI* vs.2, 5-6 which has *p3 4 3hw ipw nty m nt.sn i.ir rs hr Wsir*: "the four spirits who guard over Osiris." See also Text B of the *Metternich Stele* which speaks of "four great gods who take care of the protection of Osiris." For a discussion of such beings, see J.-C. Goyon, *Les dieux-gardiens* 115-117, 413-415, and 471; see also J. Assmann, *Solar Religion* 16-37 and 189 especially. It is unclear whether the word *wd3t* here has the generic meaning "protector" or whether it is to be understood literally as "*wd3t*-eye."

IX/18, n. W. The phrase  *n3 irw*: "those who do/make..." likely refers to the noun now lost in the preceding lacuna.

IX/18, n. X. The traces at the end of the lacuna suggest a writing of  *dt*: "forever" or "eternity."

IX/18, n. Y. Since X/1 begins with the vocative marker,   and  are undoubtedly connected, forming a phrase like "...whose faces are secret/mysterious..."

X/1, n. Z. The restoration of the phrase  *rnw.sn*: "their names" seems certain. The reference to "millions" is, again, one routinely encountered in religious texts. The phrase "millions" is a common way of expressing the Egyptian idea of "infinite." See, for example, *BD 65* which has the phrase "Re sits as presider over (his) millions." For a discussion, see D. Meeks and C. Favard-Meeks, *Daily Life*, 33-34.

X/1, n. AA. On the association of heaven, earth, and the Duat, see IX/13, n. N above.

X/2, n. BB.  *dm* is *Wb.* V 449, 8-450, 6, "aussprechen." See *pChester Beatty VIII* r.10, 9-10 where it occurs in a somewhat similar phrase: *ind hr.tn ntrw ntrywt dm.i rn.tn*: "Hail to you, gods and goddesses. I pronounce [your] names." The idea expressed here is that all of the gods whose names have just been pronounced are now called upon to come to the aid of Psamtik.

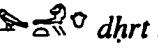
X/2, n. CC. *nn iry.f* must refer to the agent of the disease.

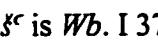
X/3, n. DD. The *f* in *im.f* refers to Psamtik, not to the ear.

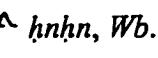
X/3, n. EE. The phrase  *nn h3c.f 3tp.f r.f*: "He shall not cast out his load against him" is unusual though the sense seems clear enough. See *pLeiden I* 348 vs. 11, 10 and p. 31 for the phrase *'k r ht.f h3c.f '3 ssm.f* which Borghouts translates: "...who has entered his belly so that he could leave behind the influence (?) of his manifestation." The general sense of this verb appears to contain the idea of leaving behind or abandoning something where it does not belong.

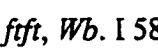
X/3, n. FF. On the term  *mht ib*: "make the heart forgetful," see *pEbers* 101,8 (*Eb* 855, l) where it occurs in conjunction with *3k ib*, another disease affecting the heart. A gloss in that text explains the two as *in t3w n r3-c hry-hb ir st 'k.f m sm3 m spw prr ib th hr.s*: "It is the (harmful) activity of the lector-priest which does it. It enters into the lungs as disease and (it) turns out that the heart goes astray under its influence." In that text the term *hry-hb* must be the equivalent of "magician." In the present passage, the construction *nn mht.f ib.f* seems to indicate that *mht* is a verb, not the noun as in *pEbers*. The sense here also seems to require that the verb be transitive and have a causal meaning. See also A. Piankoff, *Coeur* 46-47 where he discusses a number of passages in which this phrase appears, most of them in literary texts. A similar statement

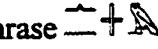
occurs in *FECT* 62 (*CT I*, 265): "I put your heart into your body so that you may remember what you have forgotten."

X/4, n. GG. On  *dhrt h3ty*: "bitterness of heart," see the discussion at III/5, n. O above.

X/4, n. HH.  *wšc* is *Wb.* I 370, 14, "das Beissen." A close parallel occurs at *pEbers* 72, 19 (*Eb* 556) and 73, 19 (*Eb* 563) in the phrase: *dr...wšcw m 't nbt nt s*: "dispelling...gnawing in the body of a man."

X/4, n. II. For  *hnhn*, *Wb.* III 115, 8 gives "Negiert: (nicht) zurückgehalten werden [beim gehen]." Either the scribe has omitted the subject of *iry* which is *f* in all of the parallel phrases, or the text was intended to read as I have translated it. For a parallel, see *FECT* 44 (*CT I*, 182) which has "You shall not be held back..."

X/4, n. JJ. On  *ftft*, *Wb.* I 581, 3-6 gives "springen, hüpfen." *Wb.* I 581, 7 offers another word, listed simply as "Verbum," citing *pSallier II* 14, 5, a hymn to the Nile. For that text, see W. Helck, *Der Text des 'Nilhymnus.'* (Wiesbaden 1972) 75 who, in the phrase *p3 t3 r 3w ftft*, simply translates the verb as "hüpft." D. van der Plas, *Hymne du Nil* 145-146 translates the verb as "gambade." *WbMT* 308 gives the meaning "springen." The word appears in *pEbers* 108, 14 (*Eb* 873) in a similar phrase *ftft m imy.tn 't iptn* referring to the activity of *stw*-vessels: "*stw*-vessels that hop between these limbs." It is unclear whether in that text and in the Brooklyn text the word refers to a pulsation, throbbing, or spasm of some sort.

X/5, n. KK. On the phrase  *nn wnm.f m iwff*: "he shall not feed on his flesh," see, for example, *BD* 163 which focuses on the protection of the body and soul against beings who would consume them.

X/5, n. LL. Beginning with "he shall not take away his mouth," there occur several statements that refer to threats of having one's physical or natural powers taken away. For this idea, numerous parallels exist. See, for example, *pLeiden I* 348 rt. XIII, 8-9 which states that the actions of "cutting off a hand", "closing the mouth" and "blinding an eye" will happen to the "dead ones" who might assail the god Horus-Seth as he sallies forth at night. In a similar description, *pBremner-Rhind* 27, 10-11 says of the evil foe: "I have cut away his flesh from his bones, I have broken his legs, I have cut off his arms, I have closed his mouth and his lips, I have drawn his teeth, cut away his tongue from his gullet, taken away his speech, blinded his eyes, taken away his hearing..." References to gods who threaten to take away one's physical powers are especially prevalent in the oracular amuletic decrees. For a parallel in the funerary literature, see, for example, *FECT* 23 (*CT I*, 70-73) where it is stated that nothing evil can befall the deceased: "You shall not be examined, you shall not be imprisoned, you shall not be restrained, you shall not be fettered, you shall not be put under guard, you shall not be put in the place of execution where the rebels are put..." See K. Nordh, *Curses and Blessings* passim for a recent and comprehensive discussion.

X/5, n. MM. One the loss of the power of speech, see X/5, n. LL above.

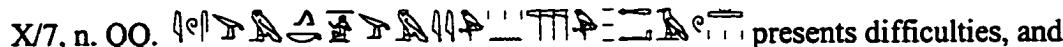
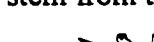
X/5, n. NN. On the threat of blindness, see, for example, *pBremner-Rhind* 10, 27.

See also H. Brunner, *LÄ* 1 828-834 and the discussion at X/5, n. LL above.

X/5, n. OO. On the threat of causing deafness, see R. Grieshammer, *LÄ* 6 241-242 and the discussion at X/5, n. LL above.

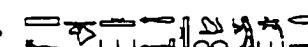
X/6, n. PP. The suffix pronoun *.k* in the verb phrase *iw.k pr.tw* apparently refers to each of the individual malignant forces just addressed. The one reciting the text

claims to have power over the agent of disease at this point and gives him a series of explicit instructions.

X/7, n. QQ.  presents difficulties, and several translations are possible. The verb  *sšm* is *Wb.* IV 285, 7-287, 10 with the basic meaning "leiten." Two nouns written similarly are given at *Wb.* IV 290, 14-291, 16 with a range of meanings that stem from the basic meaning "manifestation of a god." The writing of the word  *sšmyw* here with the determinative  (Sign-list G7) points to a meaning "manifestations" or "images;" hence a translation offered is: "you lead to me the manifestations of the great gods." It is also possible that, following R.O. Faulkner *CD* 247, the word *sšmyw* means "business" or "conduct" pointing to an extended meaning like "guide" or the like. In such a case, the sentence would then be translated: "You guide the business of the great gods for me." Another possibility is to take the noun  as a writing of *sšmw* "leader" as given by R.O. Faulkner, *CD* 247, yielding the translation: "You guide the leaders of the great gods to me."

X/7, n. RR. The suffix pronoun *.sn* is the subject of the verb *rḥ*; the phrase *hr nb m-*^c *nb*: "everyone and everything" functions as the object.

X/7, n. SS. The word *nb*: "everything" is complementary to *hr nbw*: "everyone."

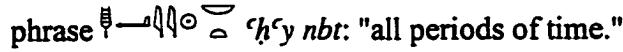
X/7, n. TT.  begins a string of epithets. It is unclear whether they refer to the group *ntrw* '3 which occurs earlier in the line or to the immediately preceding phrase *hr nbw*. A similar phrase '3 *phty nb sdmw* '3 *sfšft* occurs at *pLeiden I 346 II*, 10-11.

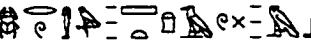
X/8, n. UU. The hieratic here gives a typical Late Period writing of  (Sign-list F22). The two oblique strokes occur commonly in the writing of words with this sign.

The two small signs below are , the whole being a writing of *phty*:

"strength." H. te Velde, *Seth* 38 argues for the more abstract meaning "potency" for this word as does W. Westendorf, *ZÄS* 92 (1966) 142 ff.

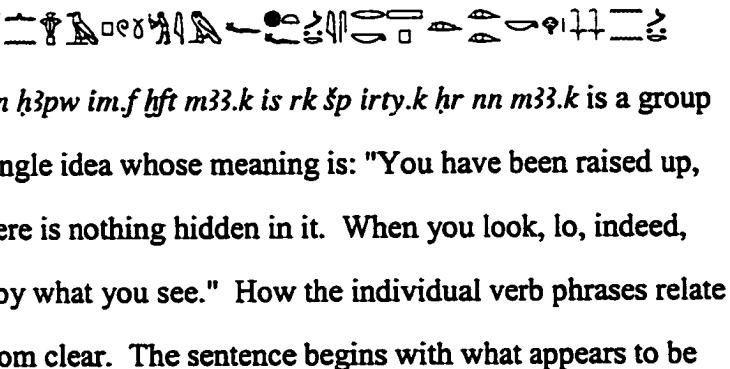
X/8, n. VV. The scribe perhaps omitted the preposition *m* inadvertently before the

phrase  "all periods of time."

X/8, n. WW. For parallels to  *hprw št3w m st imn*:

"whose forms are secret in the hidden place," see *pmagHarris* IV, 2-3 where *št3w irw* is used as an epithet of Amun. See also *pLeiden I* 348 vs. XI, 2 which may employ *št3w hprw* as an apparent epithet of the gods. *st imn*: "hidden place" or "places" is encountered frequently in funerary texts. See, for example, *FECT* 33-35 (*CT I*, 112-134); 115 (*CT II*, 136); 118 (*CT II*, 142); 143 (*CT II*, 176) and *BD* 15. For a discussion of the nature of the manifestations of the gods, see D. Meeks and C. Favard-Meeks, *Daily Life* 53-60; J. Assmann, *Solar Religion* 136-142.

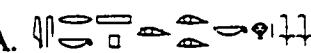
X/9, n. XX.  *iw.wts.n.k*: "You have arisen" appears to be an *iw sdm.n.f* form. Its grammatical relationship with the surrounding text is unclear.  may stand for the writing of . The phrase would then be translated "...in order to rise up for you." See X/9, n. YY following.

X/9, n. YY.  *iw wts.n.k, m33.k nb, nn h3pw im.f hft m33.k is rk šp irty.k hr nn m33.k* is a group that seems to form a single idea whose meaning is: "You have been raised up, you see everything; there is nothing hidden in it. When you look, lo, indeed, your eyes are blinded by what you see." How the individual verb phrases relate to one another is far from clear. The sentence begins with what appears to be

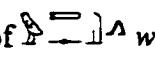
an *iw sdm.n.f* clause, a common narrative verbal construction in Middle Egyptian.

In the phrase  *nn h3pw im.f* that follows, the verbal *h3pw* could be either a participle or a *sdm.f* form whose pronominal subject has been inadvertently omitted. If it is a participle, it could modify the preceding word *nb*, thus indicating that it is "everything" which is "not hidden." If *h3pw* refers to the suffix pronoun *.k*, used as the subject of the three verbs in this part of the passage, then the being addressed is marked as "without being hidden from it." If it is a *sdm.f* form, its omitted subject could be either *.k* or *f*. Finally the clause introduced by *hft* may well be dependent upon what precedes it and thus have no grammatical connection with what follows. For parallels to the idea of seeing what is hidden in the Underworld or in the "secret place," see, for example, *FECT 61(CT I, 257)*: "You open the windows upon the Ennead, you see the mysteries which are in them."

X/9, n. ZZ. *hr* here might also mean "because of," for which see *Wb.* IV 443, 10-11.

X/9, n. AA.  *is rk špirty.k hr nn m33.k*: "lo, your eyes are blinded by what you see" seems to suggests that the agent of the disease has been struck blind after being lured into looking upon what is forbidden to see.

For a parallel to such an idea, see *pGeneva MAH 15274* rt. VII, 2 where *šp.tw nn m33.tw*: "you are blind, you do not see" occurs. That phrase is addressed to the poison by the magician to inform it of its utter defeat. See also *pVatican 19a* II, 4 for a similar address to poison. *pLeiden I 343 + 345* rt. II, 7 has *my r-bn.s k3 mnirty*: "Come outside so that your eyes will be blinded."

X/10, n. AB. The hieroglyph  at the end of line 9 indicates a writing of  *wts* and not simply *ts*. The determinative  (Sign-list D54) is not one given by *Wb.*

I 382, 16-383, 17. The same word is written somewhat similarly at VIII/16, again with the determinative ^Δ. The lack of an apparent object suggests that the verb form is *iw sdm.f* passive, as the translation indicates. After the verb phrase, the group  appears, possibly to be read as *r t3 i[m]*: "towards the land therein."

X/10, n. AC.  *sšm*: "guide; govern" seems certain. See *BD* 127; 148; and 182 for occurrences of beings who serve as guides in heaven or in the Underworld.

X/10, n. AD. According to *Wb.* II 475 1-4, the verb  *h3* has only three transitive meanings: "angreifen; annehmen; werfen," none of which seems warranted here. It is possible that the scribe inadvertently omitted a preposition like *m* and that the provisional translation given here: "You descend (from) earth to the Duat" is what was originally intended.

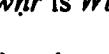
X/11, n. AE. The writing  *sšm* with the determinative  (Sign-list G7) points to the noun "image; manifestation," for which see X/7, n. QQ above.

X/11, n. AF. Beginning with the verb phrase    *nn rh.tw*: "which one shall not know..." and ending with the new address to the malignant forces near the beginning of the next line, a number of problems of interpretation arise. The phrase    *nn rh.tw* can be translated several ways. If it is syntactically linked to what precedes, it means "which shall not be known" or "which does not know you." If the phrase is to be taken independently, it would be translated: "one does not know" or "it is not known" A further possibility is that the scribe has omitted the subject and that the idea here is "X does not know you." For a discussion of the problems encountered here, see also X/11, n. AG, n. AH, and n. AI that follow.

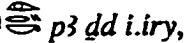
X/11, n. AG. The hieratic here presents difficulties. The question is whether the group  or  or  is written here. The word  is not attested by the *Wörterbuch*, but see A.H. Gardiner, *pChester Beatty I* where rt. 16, 9 has a word written . At 36, n.1 Gardiner states that the word so written is "...probably the same feminine word as Pap. Harris 500 recto 3, 12 and as in our papyrus, recto 16, 9, (corrupt), and cf. the name for a lion's den in the El Amarna texts; also the Coptic *pī* for a monk's cell is feminine and possibly related." See further R. Caminos, *CLEM* 484, who states that the word written  in *Turin D* "might be the obscure *rr* of *Wb.* II 409, 3, if not a defective writing of *rwyt* 'gateway,' or of the feminine word for 'den' or 'grotto' discussed by Gardiner, p. Chester Beatty No. I, 36, n. 1." The sign  (Sign-list E23) can also have the values 'r, calling to mind the word  which has variety of meanings in the texts in the Edfu temple: "stairway (to heaven); "heaven;" and the name of the place where the gods are said to reside until dawn. That word seems never to be written with the determinative  (Sign-list N25). Gauthier, *DG* III 131 gives a place written  , which he identifies as a "région de la Syrie septentrionale, non identifiée, très probablement voisine de l'Euphrate." Such a reading seems unlikely here since a location with mythological associations seems to be what is needed. If the word is , it may be possible to see in it the word *pri*: "battlefield," although such a writing is not attested by the *Wörterbuch* or found in any other of the Egyptological lexical tools. The idea of a "battlefield" in connection with "the First Occasion" makes sense, referring to the place where the creator god subdued the malignant forces for the first time. Another possibility is to see the word ...*prwt*: "seed" written here. The translation would be "the gods who were in the seeds which came

into being on the first occasion," an idea which yields sense but for which I have yet to find a parallel. Another possibility is that  *sn't* is what was intended, a writing of the word "underworld; tomb." See L. Lesko, *DLE* 3, 158; J. Ruffle, *JEA* 50 (1964) 177-178. That is the reading adopted here.

X/11, n. AH. The group  *hpr m sp tpy*: "...came to pass on the First Occasion" modifies either the place name  *sn't* or the noun  *ntrw*: "gods" further back in the preceding line.

X/11-12, n. AI.  *swhr* is *Wb.* IV 213, 4-6, "verfluchen." For a parallel to this idea of the gods cursing the malignant forces, see *PLeiden I* 343 +345 vs. I, 1-6 which lists gods and other beings who curse the force of evil.

X/13, n. AJ. The writing of the group  *in iw bn* seems clear. If the reading of this group is correct, *in iw* introduces an interrogative sentence, for which see *EG* § 491-2. Such questions are frequently rhetorical; see D. Sweeny, "What is a Rhetorical Question?", *Ling. Aeg.* 1 (1991) 315-331. The negative marker *bn* preceding usually indicates that the verb is a prospective form, for which see *LEG* 22.1-22.5. The traces after *sh3*, however, seem to indicate the writing of the signs  , which are unexpected here and do not make sense. One does not expect a *sdm.n.f* form preceded by the Late Egyptian particle *bn*. Either *n* is an error, or the phrase  may simply serve as an ethical dative or dative of limitation providing a reference point for the being(s) addressed. The translation in such a case would be "Does not (one) remember for you?" There appear to be other Late Egyptian forms in this section of the text, for which see X/13, n. AK following.

X/13, n. AK. On  *p3 dd i.iry*, the verbal *dd*, marked by the definite article *p3*, is a substantive; hence a translation like "statement" seems warranted. The

group  *i.iry.k* is probably a Late Egyptian relative form. It is unlikely that it is a *sdm.f* form preceded by the vocative marker. In every other instance in the Brooklyn text where *iry* is preceded by a vocative marker, the verbal in question has been an unmodified participle. An alternative translation to the one given is "the one who says what you do."

X/13, n. AL. I take the verbal form  *m33* to be an imperative.

X/13, n. AM. The group written  or possibly  is puzzling. The problem of interpretation lies in writing of the determinative here. If the determinative is the sign  (Sign-list G7), it indicates the writing of a divine name or epithet. As the word *mn* is that given at *Wb.* II 64, 13-65, 2 with the meaning "der und der," the addition of the divine determinative would give the equivalent of "god so and so." Alternatively, we can understand the final sign as  (Sign-list A2) as the two signs under discussion are written identically in this text. The meaning of this word then would simply be "so and so." A third, but less plausible solution is to see a writing of the name of the god Amun here and conclude that the scribe has inadvertently omitted the initial sign .

X/13, n. AN.  *st st3w*: "secret place" seems certain.

X/14, n. AO. On  *pt rsy*, the "southern heaven," see D. Kessler, *LA* 2, 1213-1215. For a parallel to the connection of *pt rsy* with the word *st3w*, see *oLeipzig* 42 rt. 4 in *HO* I, pls. III and IIIA rt. 1, 4; see also *LJ* 5; see also *pCairo* 86637 rt., v, 3 and rt. 5, n. 4; finally see *pBremner-Rhind* 27, 22 where the "southern heaven" is said to be where Orion binds his foe.

X/14, n. AP. Here begins the description of a composite being. These are well-known in Egyptian magic, the god Bes being the best known. *pIllustré* has not only a textual description of such a deity but also contains several vignettes

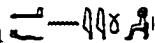
illustrating one as well, for which see there figs. 1-3. They are seen as manifestations of the creator god who, by thus presenting himself, is able to terrorize whatever malevolent forces are plaguing the patient. See also the remarks of S. Sauneron in *pIllustré* 11-16. For parallels to a being with eyes of fire, see *PT* 255: "I will put flame in my eye, and it will encompass you and set storm among the doers of (evil) deeds and its (fiery) outburst among these primeval ones." See also *pCairo 58027 II*, 3-4 which refers to an image of Pharaoh "with eyes of fire." In *BD* 125 Horus appears with "his Two Eyes of Flame coming forth from Letopolis."

X/14, n. AQ. If the reading of the group  above is the name of Amun (see X/13, n. AM), this epithet "arms of a cat" is perhaps an apt one, referring to the manifestation of the sun-god as the "Great Cat," for which see IX/15, n. S above and XIII/15, n. Z below.

X/14, n. AR. For parallels to a being with a "mouth of fire," see *Wb.* II 335, 14 citing *Urk.* V 62 and *Amduat* II 16.

X/15, n. AS. J.F. Borghouts, *pLeiden I* 348 rt. VI, 5, n. 170, discusses at length the use of the phrase *iw dd.k* in apostrophes such as this. He states that this phrase is used to introduce the intentions of the inimical forces, an interpretation which makes sense here. It may well be that claiming to have knowledge of the intentions of malignant forces effectively neutralizes them and makes their claims useless.

X/15, n. AT. On the word  *sšm* as "image," see X/7, n. QQ above.

X/16, n. AU. The term  *fnt špsy*: "noble *fnt*-cloth" is associated with a number of deities, both male and female. See M. Eaton-Krauss, *SAK* 5 (1977) 23-25, especially 24, n. 25 regarding the connections of the goddess Hathor

with this object. See also A.Egberts, *In Quest of Meaning*, 136-7, n.7 for a discussion of its royal associations. The reference to unwrapping here seems to focus on the unveiling of an image that is wrapped to ensure its secrecy and to prevent it from being known. See, for example, *FECT* 271(*CT IV*, 9): "I am the one who saw the Unclothed One, the son of Hathor." See also *BD* 63: "I am the heir (of Osiris) who unwrapped the Eldest, the Weary One." The term 'fnt' is also used of the mummy bandages of the dead which are unwrapped during the night journey of the sun-god in order to allow the deceased to see the god as he travels through the Underworld. In such a context, the act of unwrapping is associated with rebirth and resurrection.

X/16, n. AV. On the presence of the goddess Hathor in this context, see X/16, n. AU above.

X/17, n. AW. The preposition *m* probably introduces the word *sšm* as the direct object.

X/18, n. AX. For  *sšm w3t*, see *Wb.* IV 286, 11-13, "einen Weg weisen."

The writing of *pw* here may indicate the writing of a gloss.

X/18, n. AY. The reading "[...the] night" is merely a conjecture based on the context.

X/18, n. AZ. The introduction of the subordinate conjunction "when" is based on the assumption that this part of the text is connected with what follows.

X/19, n. BA. There is a loss of approximately 2 cm. at the beginning of this line. The first sign that can be read is , suggesting that the lacuna contained a verb of motion.

X/19, n. BB.  is probably the verb  *sdwḥ*, *Wb.* IV 368, 6-7, "balsamieren." Its presence here accords well with the occurrence of Anubis in the preceding phrase.

X/19, n. BC. For  as a writing of Osiris, see *Wb.* I 359. A similar writing occurs at XI/2 below.

X/19, n. BD. The sign is clear  (Sign-list D60). There follows a lacuna of 1 cm. after which comes the group   given by *Wb.* I 284, 4-5 with the meaning "Balsamierungstatte." For a parallel, see, for example, *FECT* 55 (*CTI*, 245) which refers to one who is "within the arms of Anubis in the Pure Place."

XI/1, n. BE. Based on the traces, the restoration           *Wsir 3st:* "Osiris and Isis" seems warranted.

XI/1, n. BF. On *hr ht.sn*: "upon their bellies" as a gesture of deference, see, for example, *FECT* 39 (*CTI*, 166): "...primeval gods who are on their bellies and make greeting..."

XI/1, n. BG.  *irk* following the imperative   *hr*: "fall" is probably the particle *irk* and not the preposition *ir* + suffix pronoun.

XI/1, n. BH.   *m-dr* appears to be the temporal conjunction given at *Wb.* V 593, 15-594, 5, "als; seit."

XI/2, n. BI. *.k* seems to refer to one of the malignant forces. The object pronoun *sw* probably refers to the speech of that being.

XI/2, n. BJ. For an exact parallel to             *nty iry mr tn*: "who makes this illness," see *pLeiden I* 348 rt. VI, 4-5.

XI/2, n. BK. On the meaning and use of the phrase *iw dd.k*, see X/15, n. AS above.

XI/2, n. BL. The group                *irw* is most likely a passive participle; hence, the translation "has been done" is given here.

XI/2, n. BM. The writing of  for the name of Osiris occurs as well at X/19 above, for which see X/19, n. BC.

XI/2, n. BN. The final sign of the line is  (Sign-list Z6), indicating that a name or a term designating one of the forces of evil occupied the lacuna.

XI/3, n. BO. The grammar of  is difficult. The pronoun  *sn* is either the suffix pronoun subject of the verb  *gmh* or the dependent pronoun direct object of that verb. I have adopted the latter reading, taking *gmh* as an imperfective participle. The antecedent of the pronoun *sn* is, in all likelihood, the secret things which are not to be seen. On  *gmh*, see *Wb.* V 170, 8-171, 11, "sehen."

XI/3, n. BP. The translation of the phrase  *mi dd.k* given at *EG* § 170 is "according as you say." It seems that here this phrase introduces a new series of statements; hence, the translation: "Likewise, you say.." is given. The phrase occurs again at XI/7 below.

XI/3, n. BQ. On the phrase *dd.k*, see X/15, n. AS above.

XI/3, n. BR.                     <img alt="Egyptian hieroglyph" data-bbox="13640 474 13660

like "protection." The phrase "...when Shu seized protection..." seems odd. If *m* is the negative verb, the translation of this passage could be "Likewise you speak (of) secrets. Do not seize the sunlight..." or "Do not seize Shu..." either of which gives a rendering that is also problematic. See XI/3, n. BT following.

XI/3, n. BT. is either the particle *mk* or the noun or verb meaning "protection" or "protect." If *šw* is the noun meaning "light" or "sun," the group could be a writing of *m-č.k*: "from you," the whole giving a reading like "...by taking the sunlight from you" or "when Shu was taken from you." A major problem in this passage is the relationship of the phrases and clauses. See XI/3, n. BR and n. BS above.

XI/3, n. BU. at the end of this line and the sign at the beginning of XI/4 suggest the restoration of "Hapi."

XI/4, n. BV. On Hapi's connections with the necropolis, see *pSallier II* IV, 7 (a hymn to the Nile) where Hapi is said to dwell in the Underworld. See D. van der Plas, *Hymne du Nil* 95.

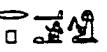
XI/4, n. BW. For *ndri*, see *Wb* II 382, 18-383, 25, "fassen; packen." See D. van der Plas, *Hymne du Nil* 174-5 where Hapi is described as one who seizes and plunders. See also at II/14 above and XIII/6 below where either a demon or divinity is said to terrorize the primeval gods. The pronoun *f* likely refers to Hapi.

XI/4, n. BX. The pronoun *s* refers to the preceding *hrt-ntr*.

XI/4, n. BY. The traces at the end of the line show *pr 3*: "Pharaoh," a common writing from the New Kingdom and later.

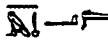
XI/5, n. BZ. The particle *in* appears to be the interrogative marker here. See *EG* §493 where it is stated that the interrogative word *in* is used to introduce

questions that show surprise on the part of the questioner. See also D. Sweeny, *Ling. Aeg.* 1 (1991) 315-331 (*loc. cit.* X/13, n. AJ above) on this particle as a marker of rhetorical questions. Since a verb is absent in this sentence, one would expect *in iw* instead. See J. Cerny and S.I. Groll, *LEG* 61.2.10, citing Ex. 1484 given at 57.6, which gives an example of *in* introducing a noun qualified by a long adjectival relative clause. However, the sentence here clearly contains an adverbial predicate.

XI/5, n. CA.  *iry p'it* may be an epithet of Geb or refer to another divinity.

XI/5, n. CB. The group  appears to be a writing of the preposition *r* followed by the word *r3*: "utterance."

XI/5, n. CC. On the use and meaning of the phrase *iw dd.k*, see X/15, n. AS above.

XI/6, n. CD. The verb  *nm* can be read at the end of XI/5 and the beginning of XI/6. *Wb.* II 266, 7-10 gives "schlafen" and cites an example of the spelling found here.

XI/6, n. CE. Numerous spells in the Pyramid Texts, Coffin Texts, and Book of the Dead enumerate Letopolis among the places where the original cosmic conflict took place. See, G.A. Wainwright, "Letopolis," *JEA* 18 (1931) 159-172 for convenient access to the citations of many of these spells. Much of his discussion, however, is dated and should be used with caution.

XI/6, n. CF. The traces suggest the restoration of the verb  *sn*, *Wb* IV 504, 5-505, 12, "abwesien; nicht zurückhalten werden." A more attractive alternative, however, is the intransitive use of the same verb given at 505, 13, whose meaning is "scheu sein; sich scheuen." *FECT* 150 (*CT* II, 254) provides a parallel: "Those who are in their shrines are frightened."

XI/7, n. CG. On the phrase *mi dd.k*, see XI/3, n. BP above.

XI/7, n. CH. The addition of the preposition *r* indicates that the address here is directed to the four deities just mentioned. Alternatively, it is possible that *r* means "against."

XI/7, n. CI. See IX/17, n. V above.

XI/8, n. CJ. I have yet to find a parallel to such a composite being. See, however, at X/14-15 above for the description of another composite deity.

XI/8, n. CK. The passage beginning with  presents difficulties. *mdw* could be a nominal or verbal form. I take it as the latter in parallel construction to the following verb phrases *šm.sn* and *s'k.sn*, hence, the translation "they speak." The following signs suit the reading of  *hnmw*, probably a participial form of *Wb.* III 377, 4-381-, 4, "vereinigen mit...; sich vereinigen mit..." I read it as a verbal adjective modifying the pronominal subject of the preceding verb. An alternative explanation is that *mdw* is a noun here, and the phrase means "their words go forth in unison," i.e., the four gods all speak at once or speak in agreement.

XI/8, n. CL.  *im3w* is *Wb.* I 81, 1-7, "das Zelt." Tents in Letopolis may possibly be mentioned in the so-called "Delta Papyrus," *pBrooklyn* 47.218.84 (unpublished), at V, 7, a statement which seems to speak of the goddesses Isis, Nephthys, and Tefnut in their tents in Letopolis concealing the effluxes gathered from the body of Osiris in an *i3yt*-tree.

XI/10, n. CM. I have no exact parallel to the idea of specific images in Kheretaha. This place figures prominently in the funerary literature. It is both where the deceased aspires to be and one of the locations connected with primal cosmic conflict. On the connections between Kheretaha and the original cosmic conflict, see A.H. Gardiner, *AEO* II, 135*-136*.

XI/10, n. CN. *ntrw* may be an appositive to *s̄smw* and that the translation should read:

"You speak of the images in Kheretaha, (namely) the gods who are in their following." Such an interpretation, however, raises the question of the antecedent of the suffix pronoun *.sn* "their" in the prepositional phrase *m-h̄t.sn* "in their following."

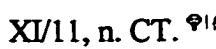
XI/10, n. CO. The group  *wls* presents difficulties. It is possibly *Wb.* I 382, 16-17-383, 16-17, "hochheben." However, the determinative ^Λ (Sign-list D54) is not given by that *Wörterbuch* entry. It is also possible that it is *Wb.* I 382, 16-17-383, 16-17, "verkünden," but this is not attested with the determinative ^Λ. In that case, the translation would be "You proclaim the images to the outside." Wilson, *Ptolemaic Lexicon* 272 offers a verb written with the determinative ^Λ meaning "carry." That is the reading adopted here.

XI/10, n. CP.  *r rwti*: "to the outside" is certain at the end of XI/10 and the beginning of XI/11. Such a writing with the two determinatives  ^Λ is attested at *Wb.* II 405, 6-12.

XI/11, n. CQ.  *nh.sn sdr iw ntrw sm.sn* is difficult. The suffix pronoun subject of the verbal *'nh.st*: "they live" seems to refer to the images mentioned in the preceding sentence. See XI/11, n. CR following.

XI/11, n. CR. The bare verbal *sdr*: "sleeping" is apparently a participle modifying the pronominal subject of the preceding verbal phrase *'nh.sn*: "they live."

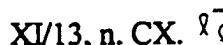
XI/11, n. CS.  *iw ntrw sm.sn*: "the gods, they proceed" should be construed as an *iw sdm.f* form with the subject *ntrw* standing in anticipatory emphasis.

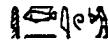
XI/11, n. CT.  *hr tp sn* presents difficulties. If *hr* is a preposition, the translation would be "...upon their heads...", a description of the gods as they go forth. Gods who stand or walk on their heads occur in the funerary literature. Such an inversion is naturally an undesirable condition; see G. Kadish, "The Scatophageous Egyptian," *JSSEA* 9 (1979) 203-217. Alternatively, *hr* could be a *nisbe*-form and the translation should "that which is upon their heads." A third possibility is that *hr tp* should be construed as a compound noun with the translation of the whole "their chiefs." The translation "upon their heads" that is offered here is provisional.

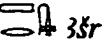
XI/12, n. CU.  *m-hr 3h.sn* is puzzling. The translation may be "in possession of their *akh*'s" or "in possession of their power." The antecedent of the pronoun *.sn* remains unclear.

XI/12, n. CV. On the eating habits of the gods, see D. Meeks and C. Favard-Meeks, *Daily Life* 63-66.

XI/13, n. CW. The antecedent of *s* is unclear.

XI/13, n. CX.  gives the reading *sn* *sdt* "ring of fire," a phrase not known to the *Wörterbuch*. This *topos* is known from *BD* 136 as one of the places of danger that the sun-barque had to pass by. It does not appear to be synonymous with the phrase *iw nsrt*: "Lake of Fire," a location commonly encountered in the funerary literature.

XI/13, n. CY.  *inh* is *Wb.* I 99, 3-13, "umgeben."

XI/13, n. CZ.  *isrw* is *Wb.* I 135, 6, "die heilige See." The determinative  (Sign-list Q7) is not given there but probably derives from its writing with the verb  given at *Wb.* I 21, 4-9, an interpretation suggested by G. Jequier, *BIFAO* 19 (1922) 226. The writing of the determinative  in the word

išrw is routinely encountered in Ptolemaic texts. See, for example, S. Sauneron, *MIFAO* 107 (1983) pl. 6, n° 7, 1 and pl. 11, n° 11, 35 and 41. The *Wörterbuch* entry also incorrectly identifies the term *išrw* as limited to the Mut precinct at Karnak. See B. Gessler-Löhr, *Die Heiligen See (HÄB* 21) *passim*, but esp. 401-424 on *išrw* at Egyptian temples associated with lion-headed goddesses. It is also possible that the sign  here is a separate word *sdt* and that the group indicates a "fiery lake." A Lake of Fire is known from *FECT* 335 (*CT* IV, 292) and 336 (*CT* IV, 327). It appears at *BD* 17 with a gloss but is written there as *š n sdt*.

XI/13, n. DA. On the hidden nature of the gods, see the discussion and references given at X/8, n. WW above.

XI/13, n. DB. The reading    *ir nty hr*: "As for one who..." seems certain, beginning a new sentence.

XI/14, n. DC. The text has the writing   *m33 w*. It seems best to take *m33* as an infinitive following *hr* and the group  *w* as the direct object pronoun of the infinitive.

XI/14, n. DD.  *miw*: "cat" is certain. Given the context and the presence in this passage of the *hiw*-serpent, a manifestation of Apophis, we should see the cat, in turn, as a manifestation of the sun god. See, for example, *FECT* 759 (*CT* VI, 388); S. Sauneron, *Traité* 121 and 190, n.2.

XI/14, n. DE. *im* directly after *wn* is an adverb modifying *wn miw mh* 7. Alternatively we can take the adverb *im* as inadvertently written before the noun *miw* and that the intended writing was "a cat exists therein."

XI/14, n. DF. There is a space of approximately 1 cm. between the writing of the preposition  and the group  *tp.f.* "his head.". Alternatively, the

translation may be "he lives on (*i.e.* "eats") his head" or something equivalent.

In either case, I can make little sense of the meaning intended here.

XI/14, n. DG.  is certain, *Wb.* II 483, 20-22, "Bez. fur die im Schlangenzauber zu vernichtende Schlange" and at *Wb.* II 483, 15-17 as used of Seth. The word is the subject of a study by W. Ward, for which see *JNES* 37 (1978) 23-34, especially 26-29. See also E. Brunner-Traut, *LÄ* 2, 27-30.

XI/14, n. DH. Despite a small break in the papyrus and the fact that one fragment has been placed upside down here, the negative marker  *nn* can be read with certainty. The verb  *tkn* is *Wb.* V 333, 10-335, 12, "nahe sein; nahe kommen."

XI/14, n. DI.  *wpt* can be read with certainty.

XI/15, n. DJ. The identity of the being to whom these pronouns refer remains uncertain.

XI/15, n. DK. On Kheretaha in this context, see XI/10, n. CM above.

XI/17, n. DL. On  *dʒdʒ*: "tribunal," see *Wb.* V 528, 1-529, 20. On the Tribunal of Letopolis, see, for example, *FECT* 337 (*CT* IV, 332) and 338 (*CT* IV, 336). A gloss at *BD* 18 states that the Great Council of Letopolis consists of Horus *hnty-irty* and Thoth.

XI/18, n. DM. The word  *bhd* is that given at *Wb.* I 470, 3-5 with the meaning "Thron." The traces preceding the lacuna show  , suggesting the restoration of *Wb.* I 436, 1-438, 5, "küpfer." It is possible that the occurrence of the word *bι3* has specific connections with Letopolis, for which see G.A. Wainwright, *JEA* 18 (1931) 165-166.

XI/18, n. DN. The traces seem to indicate a writing of  *Wb.* III 423, 7-424, 12, "Erde."

XI/18, n. DO. The fragment has been misplaced in the lacuna.

XI/19, n. DP.  is *Wb.* I 542, 12-543, 7, "durchschlagen." The determinative  (Sign-list T30) is not given there but is suitable and makes sense in the present case. The word appears at *pBoulaq* 6 rt. XI, 2 with the meaning "open."

XI/19, n. DQ. In the photograph, there is a misplaced fragment where there really should be a lacuna of 1.5 cm.

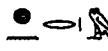
XI/19, n. DR. The traces, the available space at the end of this line, and the writing of the group  at the beginning of the first line of the next column make the restoration of      *m tp m m3t m nhwy*: "in the head, in the temple, in the ears..." certain.

XII/1, n. DS.  *Iwnw*: "Iunu" is a designation of the creator god as worshipped at Heliopolis, *Wb.* I 53, 21-22. It is one of the epithets used of the god Atum, for which see, K. Mysliwiec, *Atum* II, 101-102. It was also used as a designation of Osiris as a mummy, for which see Goyon, *Cérémonial* 141, 11 and 110, n.2. Considering the epithets that follow, the connection with the creator god seems the likely one.

XII/3, n. DT. On these epithets of the creator god, see K. Mysliwiec, *Atum* II, *passim*.

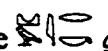
XII/5, n. DU. References to secret shrines and secret places abound in the funerary literature. See, for example, *FECT* 2 (*CT* I, 8); 35 (*CT* I, 133); 118 (*CT* II, 140); 143 (*CT* II, 176); and 728 (*CT* VI, 358). See also J. Assmann, *Solar Religion* 136-142

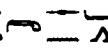
XII/5, n. DV. Beginning here and for the remainder of this line, numerous problems occur, and it is quite possible that the text is corrupt.       *w3r* is *Wb.* I 245, 5-11, "fern sein." See J. Quack, *LingAeg* 3 (1993) 59-79. It seems to be used as an imperative here.

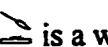
XII/5, n. DW. The group of signs  seems to yield little sense, but perhaps it indicates the writing of a magical name. For a possible parallel, see *pBremner-Rhind* 32, 34 which gives  as one of the names of Apophis. However, the word written here has none of the determinatives that one would expect with the writing of such a name.

XII/5, n. DX.  *3mm* is *Wb.* I 10, 17-21, "mit der Faust ergreifen".

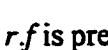
XII/5, n. DY. The phrase *  *dw3t s3t3*: "secret Duat" occurs in a common tag phrase found in vignettes representing the setting sun in Books of the Dead of Dynasty XXI. See, for example A. Niwinski, *Funerary Papyri* 39, fig. 2. It also recalls the name of the burial mound of the deceased gods at Esna, described in *Esna* III N° 196, 2 as follows: *dw3t s3t3 pw n m33 s(t) rm3 nb*: "it is the mysterious Duat which no man sees." See S. Sauneron *Esna* V 318 and 319 n.C.

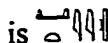
XII/6, n. DZ. A parallel to the phrase  *dw ir.k*: "Evil against you" followed by the name of one of the malevolent forces is found at *pBremner-Rhind* 29, 22: *dw.k r.k sbi*: "Evil against you, rebel."

XII/7, n. EA. I have no exact parallel for the epithet   *p3 nk sn m hrw*: "the fornicator who transgresses by day."

XII/7, n. EB.  is a writing of *sd*, *Wb.* IV 363, 3-364, 2, "der Schwanz." In all likelihood, a derogatory meaning seems wanted here.

XII/7, n. EC.  *ksks* is *Wb.* V 141-142, 3, "tanzen." I have yet to find a parallel for this phrase.

XII/8, n. ED.  *h3 r r.f* is presumably to be translated "descend against him." The verb is habitually used of beings with negative intentions who prey upon others.

XII/10, n. EE. There is approximately 1 cm. of text missing at the beginning of this line. What can be read is  If the nominal group *ntrw nb* from the end of the preceding line is the subject of the verbal *dit* and has been placed in anticipatory emphasis, then an object pronoun seems to be missing here. Restoring the pronoun  *tw* makes good sense: ““all of the gods cause you to be far from...”

XII/10, n. EF.  *ns*: “tongue” can be read with certainty despite a tear in the papyrus. The idea expressed here is a peculiar one for which I have yet to find an exact parallel. The crocodile is a well-known symbol of the forces of chaos.

XII/10, n. EG. On the use of the *mht*-bowl in magical prescriptions, see II/4, n. M above.

XII/11, n. EH. What is written here is clearly   . It is probable that the scribe intended the word  given at *Wb*. I 52, 9-18 as a writing of the word *iwn*: “Farbe.” The sign  (Sign-list N25) may be due to an error by assimilation from  *int*, *Wb*. I 93, 2-14, “das Tal.”

XII/11, n. EI. The word  *i:t* is a technical term of uncertain meaning given at *WbDN* 13-4. It occurs in conjunction with beer, an ingredient that does occur at the beginning of the following line.

XII/12, n. EJ. Approximately 1 cm. of text is lost at the beginning of this line. It is possible that the group  should be restored here, a determinative commonly found with the word *i:t*. See J.F. Borghouts, *pLeiden I* 348 rt. 12, 11-13, 3 where the same combination of *mht*-dish, beer, and the term *i:t* are found.

XII/12, n. EK.  *stp*: “strip of linen” can be restored here based on the traces.

XII/12-13, n. EL. The phrase    *stp pk3*: “strip of fine linen” occurs at VII/12 above.

XII/13, n. EM. On the ingredient  *tpt*: "fine oil," see *WbDN* 554-555.

XII/13, n. EN. On the ingredient  *ntyw*: "myrrh," see *WbDN* 250-279.

XII/14, n. EO.  *h3r mw* is unknown to the *Wörterbuch*. It appears in a gloss in the Kadesh Inscription of Ramesses II describing the king's treatment of the Prince of Aleppo: *h3r sw hm.f r mw*: "His Majesty throws him in the water;" see K. Kitchen *KRI* II 138.

XII/15, n. EP. The 'ft-plant is known from prescriptions in a number of texts, in various spellings. *pmedBerlin* vs. 2, 10 (Bln 201) gives a similar writing. *WbDN* 87 equates the 'ft-plant with *Melilotus officinalis*, "honey clover," citing a study by Dawson, *JEA* 20 (1934) 41. See further the discussion by R. Germer, *Untersuchungen* 218-219. Cf., however, L. Manniche, *Egyptian Herbal* 120, claims that 'ft is better identified as a lettuce. It is also a plant to be avoided at times; *pCairo* 86637 I, 3 proscribes eating the 'ft-plant on the third day of Akhet.

XII/15, n. EQ.  *thb* is *Wb.* V 326, 1-11, "entauchen in."

XII/15, n. ER. *WbDN* 561-562 gives  *l3w* with the meaning "Teil" when affixed to the names of plants. Here, the phrase "painted with a part of the 'ft-plant..." must refer either to an external application of the plant steeped in honey or to the use of the 'ft-plant as the device by which the patient will be painted with honey.

TRANSLATION AND COMMENTARY OF SPELL O

(COLUMNS XII, 16-XIII, 10)

(P. BROOKLYN 47.218.49)

16. *Another spell for dispelling heat from the ear.* Heat, Roarers.^A Do not come against me. Go^B
17. indeed against the Twins,^C the Two *Bas*^D who come forth [from] the nostril^E of Re. May you dispel^F the Fiend (?)^G placing^H an effigy^I of Re, this effigy
18. of a falcon. (?)^J [Your...]^K is swallowed,^L your weapon^M is broken (?),^N you have beheaded^O (?) your *d'm*-scepter.^P Do not make heat^Q in the ear [... 3 cm. ...]
19. [... 2 cm. ...] against you.^R Do not come against his ear. Listen to the words^S of Re every day. You will not [... 1 cm. ...]^T him. He is Ptah on this day.^U You will not gain power^V in

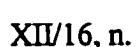
COLUMN XIII

1. the ear of Psamtik, l.p.h., in his *ib*-heart, in his temple, in his *h3ty*-heart,^W in all these limbs of his because he is the skin^X
2. that comes forth from Osiris, the horns on him of *hnty-hm*,^Y the hair on his head^Z from Horus, the son of Isis.
3. His ears are within the Sound Eye.^{AA} Hear the words of Re in the eastern horizon of heaven.^{BB} O enemy, fiend, dead male, dead female
4. and so on who make this sickness against Psamtik, l.p.h.^{CC} in^{DD} blood, immersed in his red-blood, smeared with the blood^{EE}
5. of an *'n't*-woman,^{FF} he has acted with the enmity of the gods.^{GG} He who says that he is upside down (?)^{HH} in his bones, who feeds upon his head, who chews on his limbs,^{II}

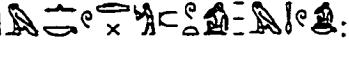
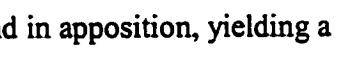
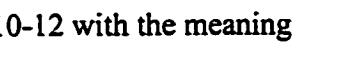
6. he has done the abomination of Re. He has placed the *atef*-crown upon his head.^u
 He terrorizes those who are in their primeval mounds.^{xx} The gods (who were)
 their predecessors hide^{ll} when
7. they see him. Fall back!^{mm} Retreat! Pass by! (O)one who does evil!ⁿⁿ Do not
 assail^{oo} Pharaoh!^{pp} Do not come against him! He is Horus the son of
8. Isis. A protection behind a protection, there comes a protection.^{qq} *Words to be
 recited over the blood of a dun-colored ass*^{rr} blood of the ear of a bat,^{ss} the
 feather of a phoenix^{tt}
9. brought to a boil with *mrh*-oil^{uu} and fat of a goat.^{vv} Smear a man therewith who is
 suffering from heat that is caused to enter by a dead male, a dead female into
 the ear
10. and there is made for him an examination^{ww} and all remedies are placed (upon)
 his ear.

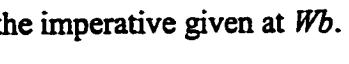
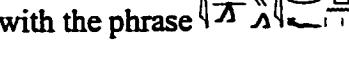
COMMENTARY

General Remarks: Apart from the very problematic first three lines, this spell is basically a parallel of the text of Spell C above. For the most part, the notes to the present spell refer to the discussion given in the notes of Spell C.

XII/16, n. A.  is difficult. The sign  (Sign-list V11) can be read as *pḥ3* or *dni*. No word so written is given in the *Wörterbuch* entries under *pḥ3*. A similarly spelled noun *dniwt* is given at *Wb.* V 466, 10-467, with the meanings "Geschrei," Gebrüll." The two words   are the first two words of the spell proper, possibly forming a vocative phrase; if so, it is odd that the vocative marker is not employed as it is routinely elsewhere in the papyrus. If the word written here is the noun cited by the *Wörterbuch*, it may have Sethian

connotations. The god Seth is commonly described as the god who "roars;" see H. te Velde, *Seth* 20. A number of verbs with the meaning "roar" are given at 22-23, but the verb *dni* is not among them. All of the verbs listed there are written with the Seth-animal determinative. J.F. Borghouts, *pLeiden I* 348 25-26 states that the "loudly roaring one" is an epithet of the demon Akephalos, that is, "the headless one." This epithet is found largely used in later texts, because it is an anagram of the name Seth, for which see te Velde, *Seth* pl. XII,

2. An unpublished papyrus in Brooklyn, *pBrooklyn* 47.218.2, a book of protection for mother and child, provides the closest parallel at VIII/1 in a phrase addressed apparently to the forces of evil:  : *im.k wd dniw m hrw.k* : You shall not put shrillness in your voice." The two nouns,  *hh dnywt*, may simply stand in apposition, yielding a translation: "Heat! Roarers! Do not..." Such a reading is attractive since the pronoun *.tn* appears at the beginning of the next line, apparently referring back to the two nouns that begin the spell. Alternatively, the word intended here may be the verb  *dni* given at *Wb.* V 464, 10-12 with the meaning "abdämmen." *WbMT* 980 gives a similar verb with the meaning "eindämmen." In that case, the translation would be "Heat, be dammed up." If so, I am at a loss to explain the presence of the plural strokes.

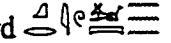
XII/16, n. B. The reading of the four signs at the end of the line is problematic, but probably is  . The first three signs suggest the imperative given at *Wb.* I 126, 8-16 meaning "gehe!" The final sign would be the first sign of the particle *irf* which continues into the next line; the whole group yields the translation "Go indeed!" *pLeiden I* 346 I, 6 offers a parallel with the phrase , translated there "Werwindjest U!"

XII/17, n. C.  is probably best understood as a writing of *s3ty*, the noun given at *Wb.* III 412, 8-12: "das Kinderpaar," referring to Shu and Tefnut. It is found as early as the Coffin Texts. *FECT* 74 (*CT I*, 312) has a similar writing whose meaning is "the Two Brothers," there a reference to Horus and Thoth. *FECT* 783 (*CT VI*, 413) has a noun given as "the Twins," there referring to Shu and Tefnut. Given the phrase *b3wy*: "the two *Ba*'s" that follows here, a common designation of Shu and Tefnut, the translation "the Twins" is an attractive one. For a discussion of twins, both human and divine, see J. Baines, *Orientalia* 54 (1985) 461-482. See also XII/17, n. D that follows.

XII/17, n. D.  is certain. The first hieratic sign is that given at G. Möller, *HP* III 602 there transliterated as *k3t*; see, however, *Sign-list Aa4* (=W10*) where the transliteration *b3* is given. The idea of the Two *Ba*'s has a long history in Egyptian thought. Numerous passages in the Coffin Texts state that the deceased is the possessor of two *ba*'s, e.g., *FECT* 69 (*CT I*, 293) and 696 (*CT VI*, 330). Several passages make reference to the "House of the Two *Ba*'s," for which see *FECT* 50 (*CT I*, 226) and 630 (*CT VI*, 251). The Two *Ba*'s appear in *FECT* 945 (*CT VII*, 159), a spell in which various parts of the body are associated with specific deities. There it is the spine that is said to be the Two *Ba*'s. The Two *Ba*'s play an important role in *BD* 17 and usually appear in a vignette. L. Zabkhar, *Ba Concept* 37 states that the being named "the-one-who-has-two *ba*'s" embodies the *ba* of Re and the *ba* of Osiris. R.A. Parker et al., *Lake Edifice* 45, n. 57 and n. 59 identify the Two *Bas* as Shu and Tefnut. This latter identification is attractive given the statements that follow in the text. See XII/17, n. E following.

XII/17, n. E. On the act of sneezing and its connection with the origin of divine *Ba*'s, see L. Zabkar *Ba Concept* 96 who cites *FECT* 75 (*CT I*, 338-340): "He [Re] sneezed me [Shu] out through his nostrils....I [Shu] am one whose form has been sneezed out..." *FECT* 191 (*CT III*, 100) has "he has blown me out his nose..." For a somewhat different act of creation emanating from the nose, see P. Derchain, *pSalt* 825 II, 3 where there is a reference to the blood from the nose of Geb falling to earth and forming pine trees.

XII/17, n. F. The subject of  *dr*: "dispel" is  *tn*: "you," the antecedent of which remains unclear.

XII/17, n. G. The group  *kri3* presents difficulties. No such word is attested by the *Wörterbuch*. The only suggestion that I can make is that it is a mis-writing of  *rkii*, *Wb.* II 456, 13-20, "der Feind," and which can be written with the signs  and  . That word appears at IV/11 above, for which see IV/11, n.XX. Alternatively, we can see a writing of the word  *kriw*, "thunderstorm," attested by *pBremner-Rhind* 23, 15.

XII/17, n. H. I take the group  *dd* to be the imperfective participle.

XII/17, n. I.  *shm* is *Wb.* IV 243, 5-245, 2, "Gottliche Wesen; Gottliche Macht." It can also have the meaning "power" or effigy when written with the determinative (Sign-list G7). J.-C. Goyon, *pLouvre I* 3079 149, 2 translates *shm* as "effigy."

XII/17, n. J. After a lacuna of approximately 2 cm., the sign  (Sign-list G5) can be read. As it is not followed by the determinative  (Sign-list G7), it is probably not the writing of the name of the god Horus. It could be the determinative of the word *bik*: "falcon," now lost in the lacuna.

XII/17, n. K. Just before the lacuna, the signs   appear.

XII/18, n. L.  *nsbw* is *Wb.* II 334, 11-14, "etw. verschlingen; etwas ablecken."

See J. Vandier, *pJumilhac* 16, 3-4; 16, 12 where it is translated "lêcher." J.-C.

Goyon, *pLouvre I* 3079 145, 2; 116, n.62 gives the translation "est dardée." The meaning "swallow" is adopted here based on the occurrence of the word in the text above, for which see VIII/12, n.D.

XII/18, n. M. The group  *ht.k*: "your staff/weapon" is certain.

XII/18, n. N. The traces suggest   *sd*, *Wb.* IV 373, 8-375, 7, "zerbrechen."

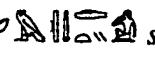
The phrase  *ht.k* is the subject or the direct object, meaning something like "weapon" or "staff." *Urk.* VI 19. 14 provides a parallel in *hsk.n.f ht*: "er hat Holz gefällt..." See also XII/18, nn. O-P following.

XII/18, n. O.  *hsk* is *Wb.* III 168, 14-169, 2, "abhauen; enthaupen," used in connection with "der Feind." It occurs in *pJumilhac* 1, x + 7; 2, 18; 18, 9 and 12; 20, 6; and 22, 10, all passages in which the intended meaning is clearly "decapitate." At 3, 19 of the same text, the verb is used of "cutting off" the phallus and testicles. In *pLeiden I* 343+345 vs. 24, 3-4 it denotes the "cutting off" of hands and feet.

XII/18, n. P. I am tempted to read the sign  (Sign-list S40) as the beginning of the noun   *d'm* given by *Wb.* V 537, 4-11 with the meaning "Art Szepter der Himmel." The *d'm*-sceptre had the head of Seth or that of a snake, a detail that makes it an interesting figurative object of the verb *hsk*: "behead." The image is clearly one of depriving the enemy of any form of power. See P. Wilson, *Ptolemaic Lexicon* 1225.

XII/18, n. Q. The sign *m* is probably the negative imperative.

XII/19, n. R. Following the lacuna of 2 cm. at the beginning of the line,  can be read. I think that the reading of the prepositional phrase *ir.k* is preferable to that of the particle *irk*, given that the particle tends to follow the verb directly.

XII/19, n. S. Based on the traces and following the parallels at II/7; II/10-11 above and XIII/3 below,  *sdm mdw*: "Hear the words..." can be restored. For a discussion of the phrase *sdm mdw* see II/7, n. F above.

XII/19, n. T. A single word appears to be lost in the lacuna of 1 cm. here. A verb with a meaning like "come against," "gain power over" or "prevail against" is required. See II/8, n. J above.

XII/19, n. U. The construction of *ntf* + noun is commonly encountered in magical texts, particularly when introducing a series of statements addressed to the inimical forces explaining why they will fail (or already have). *BD 42* provides a parallel with *ink R^c n hrw nb*: "I am Re every day." Interestingly enough, what follows there is a statement about hostile forces not gaining power. See also the discussion at II/16, n. YY above.

XII/19, n. V. The parallel at II/8 is not exact. There the phrase  *nn hsf.tw*: "One shall not make war..." occurs in place of the phrase found here:  *nn shm.[k]*: "you shall not gain power..." See II/8, n. J above.

XIII/1, n. W. On the terms *ib* and *h3ty*, see II/8, n. K. above.

XIII/1, n. X. The parallel at II/9 above is again slightly different. There the statement is *ntf inm pr m 'w [n Wsir]*: "he is the skin that comes forth from the limbs of Osiris."

XIII/2, n. Y. On the god known as *hnty-hm*, see II/9, n. O above.

XIII/2, n. Z. In the parallel at II/9-10 above, the scribe has added plural strokes to the word *hr* and has written the preposition *n* before the word *tp* as well.

XIII/3, n. AA. On the *Wadjet*-Eye as a place of protection, see the discussion at II/10,

n. R above.

XIII/3, n. BB. The parallel at II/10-11 above has the additional phrase *hrw nb*: "every day." On the instruction to listen to the words of Re, see II/7, n. F above.

XIII/4, n. CC. The parallel at II/12 has the term *pr 3* in place of the name *Psmrk*.

XIII/4, n. DD. The parallel at II/12 has  *m̄ m*: "filled with" before  *snf*: "blood." That more complete writing seems to make better sense.

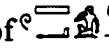
XIII/4, n. EE.  *trw*: "blood" is certain. See II/12, nn. BB above for a discussion of the terms and phrases.

XIII/5, n. FF.  *m̄t* is *Wb*. I 185, 15-16, "als Bez. für Frauen, deren Urin in der Medizin und im Zauber gebraucht wird." *WbDN* 91 gives the meaning "Jungfrau," citing the same usage with *mwit*, "Harn." The phrase *mt m 'm̄t*: "urine of an 'm̄t-woman" occurs at *pBremner-Rhind* 29, 15 where it is used to quench the fire that burns the wax images of Apophis and other enemies. 'm̄t may well refer to a woman viewed to be in a ritually impure state, one connected with sexual relations, the menstrual cycle, or childbirth. A related term *'m̄w*, apparently the male form of the same substantive, occurs in the Piankhi Stele, describing men marked as unquestionably ritually impure; see N.-C. Grimal, *Piankhi Stele* 178, n. 529. I have found no other occurrences of the word *'m̄t* with the term *trw* other than its appearance twice in this text, here and at II/12-13 above.

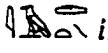
XIII/5, n. GG. The parallel at II/13 has [*ir.n.]f 'bw fr pr 3*]: "[He has done] his enmity against Pharaoh." The sense here parallels the thought though not the language.

XIII/5, n. HH.  *shd* may be *Wb*. IV 265, 8-266, 10, "mit dem Kopf nach unten sein." That entry does not give  (Sign-list A24) as a determinative. The

parallel at II/13 seems to have the verb  though the verb occurs there at the end of a lacuna. A parallel to this curious phrase may be found in *Djed-Hor* § 6, 29, l.1: *shd ksnwt n Wsir n.f* with the translation "Renverse les os d'Osiris pour lui!" given at 33 and the cautionary remark at 33 n.7, "...la signification n'est pas claire".

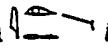
XIII/5, n. II. See II/13 and II/13, n. LL above for a discussion of  *m h^c.w.f* "who chews on his limbs."

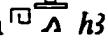
XIII/6, n. JJ. The text follows the parallel at II/14 with a few minor differences. II/14 has *ȝt tp-ȝ*: "atef-crown of his ancestors" in place of *ȝtfr tp.f*: "atef-crown upon his head" or "atef-crown towards his head." It is quite likely that the writings of these different words have been confused. See the discussion at II/14, nn. OO-RR above.

XIII/6, n. KK. On , see II/14, n. RR above.

XIII/6, n. LL. seems certain. The verb is *Wb.* V 496, 8-14, "verborgen sein." Here it is written with the determinative  (Sign-list AS), while in II/15, it is written with the determinative  (Sign-list A30).

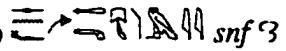
XIII/7, N. MM. The sign *m* that is written before the imperative *ht* is an error by assimilation stemming from the writing of the common preposition group *m-ht*. It makes no sense to take it as the negative imperative here.

XIII/7, n. NN. On , "Evil-doer," see II/16, n. WW above.

XIII/7, n. OO. On  *h3* and its negative connotations, see II/16, n. XX above.

XIII/7, n. PP. In place of the phrase *hr pr ȝ* here, the parallel at II/16 has simply *hr.f*.

XIII/8, n. QQ. On the commonly encountered phrase  "a protection behind a protection, there comes a protection," see II/16, n. ZZ above.

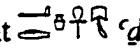
XIII/8, n. RR. The rubric is very faded here, and only the group  *snf³*

km3: "blood of a dun-colored ass" can be read with certainty. On the use of this animal in prescriptions, see VII/16, n. BT above.

XIII/8, n. SS. On this ingredient, see II/17, n. AC above.

XIII/8, n. TT. On this ingredient, see II/17, n. AD above.

XIII/9, n. UU. On *mrh*-oil, see *WbDN* 250-279.

XIII/9, n. VV. The ingredient  *d nh*: "fat of a goat" is not given in *WbDN*.

XIII/10, n. WW.  is peculiar. *Wb.* I 353, 14-354, 7 gives a verb *wh3* meaning "suchen." See *Djed-Hor* §2, 28-29 and 17, n. 9 where *wh3h* is so written for *h3* with the meaning "to examine a patient." Such a reading is possible here, but then I can make little sense of the word written . A meaning like "bodies" or "bellies" makes little sense here.

TRANSLATION AND COMMENTARY OF SPELL P

(COLUMN XIII, 10 - 19)

(P. BROOKLYN 47.218.49)

10.*Another spell.* O^a dead man, belonging to^b the ear of Psamtik.
11. You are cut up.^c I have slain you.^d Behold, indeed,^e she is come.^f Behold^g the Great One,^h she is come near you.ⁱ [...] let pass to the fore (?)^j
12. her (?)^k enmity^l to^m the West, the East, the South, the North,ⁿ her enmity to the West who are in the following of Horus,^o her enmity
13. to the East who are in the following of the Evil One,^p her enmity to the South who are in the following of Horus,^q her enmity to the North
14. who are in the following of the Evil One.^r Back you, who would place his influences^s in the ear of Psamtik. The fiendish one^t is struck.^u [...]^v
15. [...] She says this name of yours.^w She devours.^x The falcon has slain you.^y The cat has slaughtered you.^z Retreat, rebel.^{aa}
16. Do not place your enmity^{bb} in the ear of Psamtik, l.p.h.^{cc} (If) you are proceeding,^{dd} turn back. I have brought the Great One^{ee} [...]1.5 cm. [...]
17. She has placed fire^{ff} upon you [who come]^{gg} against Pharaoh. O^{hh} male heat, Oⁱⁱ female heat ... speak ... you ... falcon ... [...]2 cm. [...]
18. You shall not come [against]ⁱⁱ the ear of [Pharaoh]^{kk} *Recitation over [...]ll feces.* Smear together^{mm} the feces [...]ⁿⁿ [...]2 cm. [...]
19. a strip of cloth^{oo} [...]16 cm. [...]

COMMENTARY

General Remarks: The text of this spell can generally be established without problems. There are lacunae involving the final three lines of the column

which do impede the reading of the text there. The spell focuses, for the most part, on a female deity simply referred to as  wrt: "the Great One." She plays a destructive role in her dealings with the forces of evil, here simply described as  mwt: "dead male."

XIII/10, n. A.  h3, the vocative marker, is the only occurrence of this word in this text. A.H. Gardiner, *EG* § 87, states that this word is more rarely employed than  or . See also J.P. Allen, *Middle Egyptian* 16.8.4.

XIII/10, n. B. The group  appears to be a writing of the *nisbe*-adjective *iry*: "belonging to."

XIII/11, n. C.  bhn is *Wb.* I 468, 10-17, "zerschneiden." The word occurs with this meaning at *pBremner-Rhind* 22, 4. It seems to make better grammatical sense to understand  bhn.tw as the second person singular of the stative and not as an imperative. For the writing of the pronoun tw as the second person singular subject pronoun of the stative, see J.P. Allen, *Middle Egyptian* 17.2 who states that this writing is found often in New Kingdom texts. See also J. Cerny and S.I. Groll, *LEG* 12.3.2.c. An alternative reading is to understand that the supra-linear group  n.i is to be taken with both verbs here. Such an interpretation would yield the translation: "I have cut you up."

XIII/11, n. D.  sm3 n.i tw is a sdm.n.f form with dependent pronoun direct object tw and translated "I have slain you." Since the scribe wrote the dependent pronoun .tw directly after the verb, apparently an error by assimilation stemming from his writing of the verb form in the preceding clause, he had to write the group  n.i above the line.

XIII/11, n. E.  mt is the non-enclitic particle, *Wb.* II 36, 6-7, discussed at *EG* § 234. It is followed by the non-enclitic particle is.  mt is used in place of the

masculine form **A** — *mk* because the subject of the ensuing verbal forms is feminine. For the writing, see, for example, *Urk.* VI 9, 21 and 11, 4 where it is translated "Seht..." A similar combination, *mi.tn* is, occurs at *Admonitions* rt. 7,1 et al., marking the beginning of each new section of the complaints.

XIII/11, n. F. I take the verbal form **॥^१॥^२ ii.tw** as 3rd pers. sing. of the stative.

XIII/11, n. G. On Δ^{∞} , see XIII/11, n. E above.

XIII/11, n. H. The term  wrt: "The Great One" is used to designate the goddess who is often described as exercising the power of destructive fire, as she does in XIII/16-17 below. This word should not be understood as the name of a deity but rather as a term designating a manifestation of any one of the goddesses connected with and called the Eye of Re. They function as the uraeus and are often described as playing an apotropaic role. It is possible that the epithet is used intentionally to avoid specifying which of these goddesses is meant. J.F. Borghouts, *pLeiden I* 348 186-188, n. 461, lists some of the texts in which wrt appears. See also P. Germond, *Sekhmet* 119-128, for a discussion of this role played by Sakhmet as "Eye of Re," "Uraeus," and "Flame." She is also connected with *i3dt rnpt*, the epidemic of the year, for which see the discussion at IV/15, n. AQ above.

XIII/11, n. I. □ **h3** appears to be *Wb.* II 477, 1-478, 18, "Nachbarschaft, Nähe." It is commonly used with the preposition *m* or *r* to express a locative idea; note, too, that the preposition is commonly omitted. The verb phrase **ii.tw** here should be understood as a 3rd pers. sing. stative.

XIII/11, n. J. A tear in the papyrus here presents problems. What can be read with certainty is . It is possible that a first or third person pronoun subject was written here and that the following pronoun *tn* is an object pronoun.

Such an interpretation would give a translation: "I/she let you pass to the fore..."

Alternatively, the pronoun *.tn* at the end of the line may be the suffix pronoun subject of the verb *shnty*, yielding the translation: "You let pass to the fore.."

XIII/12, n. K. The pronoun that qualifies '*b*' throughout this passage is written both as ¹ and as ². It refers either to the noun *wrt*: "Great One" or to a noun missing from the lacuna at the end of the line. Consequently, it is unclear whether to translate it as "her" or "their." I have chosen to translate it as "her" throughout the passage.

XIII/12, n. L. On $\text{---} \text{J} \text{---}^{\text{2}}$ *'bt* as "enmity" or "horn," see the discussion at II/13, n. HH above.

XIII/12, n. M. It is possible that the preposition $\ominus r$ here means "against" and not "to."

XIII/12, n. N. The action of the goddess' placing her horn in the direction of the four cardinal points is to be understood as a gesture of protection. The closest parallel that I have found is in two passages in the Dendara temple where Isis says to the king: *di.i n.k i^rrrt.t* (sic) *m h^tt.k hr wd 'b.s r hftiw.k*: "I give to you your (?) uraeus on your forehead while ordering its horn/enmity against your enemies;" and *di.i 'b.t bin r hftiw nbw...*: "I give your evil horn/enmity against all the enemies of...." For those texts, see Dendara I 151, 9 and Dendara VIII, 56, 2-3, respectively. See also J.-C. Goyon, *BIFAO* 75 (1975) 355,3, 367, 8-9, and 375, 16, passages from a book of protection in which four balls of clay used to protect Osiris are thrown to the south, north, west and east.

XIII/12, n. O. On the connections between Horus and the West, see D. Kessler, *LÄ* 2, 1214 and 1215, n. 22.

XIII/12, n. P. On Seth's connections with the East, see D. Kessler, *LÄ* 2, 1214 and 1215, n 21. A reference to *imy-h̄t st̄ḥ* occurs at *SocBehague* 89. Two disparate groups of beings in the followings of Horus and Seth respectively also occur in the Coffin Texts, for which see *FECT* 775 (*CT* VI, 408).

XIII/13, n. Q. On Horus's connections with the South, see D. Kessler, *LÄ* 2, 1214.

XIII/13, n. R. On Seth's connections with the North see D. Kessler, *LÄ* 2, 1214.

XIII/14, n. S. The word written  is commonly used in magical texts as a synonym for *st̄* "influence," invariably that of a malevolent being. S. Sauneron, *pIllustré* IV, 2 and 25 n. i explains the word as having the literal meaning of hostility from the hand (of a god). For the idea of establishing an evil influence somewhere, see J.F. Borghouts, *pLeiden* I 348 rt. I, 3 which has the phrase *nn whm st wdi nbd im.s* " (she) will not put the Evil One in it again." The verb *wdi* can also have the meaning "extend" as it is commonly found in the phrase *wdiwy* "extend the arms (in a gesture of adoration)."

XIII/14, n. T.  *ib* that appears here may be *Wb.* I 60, 16, "Bez. des Apophis."

The writing given there is  and is attested as "spät."

XIII/14, n. U.  *hwi* is *Wb.* III 46, 1-48, 15, "schlagen."

XIII/14, n. V. Damage to the surface of the papyrus at the end of the line presents problems. What can be read appears to be .

XIII/15, n. W. The word  *rn*: "name" is written with the determinative  (Sign-list Z6) due to the nature of the being addressed. The suffix pronoun subject *.s.*: "she" presumably refers to "Great One" mentioned in line XIII/11 above. For a similar writing of the word  *rn* with determinative  (Sign-list Z6), see *Urk VI* 29, 8.

XIII/15, n. X.  *wnm.s*: "she devours" is clear, but there is difficulty in trying to determine how this verb phrase fits with what precedes and follows.

XIII/15, n. Y. On the falcon and its role in apotropaic texts, see XIII/15, n. Z following.

XIII/15, n. Z. The cat referred to here is a manifestation of the sun god, as is the falcon referred to in the preceding clause. These two animals play a role in apotropaic rituals, often in tandem. See, for example, *pChester Beatty VIII* vs. 1, 1-2, 4 where the possessor of a prophylactic text is said to be both a cat and a falcon. An address to a malevolent being in *pBrooklyn 47.218.2* (unpublished), a book of protection for mother and child, contains the statement at IV/4:

 *dr n tw miwt hmt hm n tw bik*: "The female cat has dispelled you; the falcon has turned you away." In a passage in *Traité*, 121 and 190, n.2, in a formula pronounced against the "venom of the abominable one" or the "venom of the red one (i.e. Seth)," there occurs the threat  *miw sd* which Sauneron translates "que le chat [le] coupe!"

XIII/15, n. AA. The traces at the end of the line show the writing of the noun  *sbi*: "rebel," a designation of Apophis.

XIII/16, n. BB.  'b seems best translated here as "enmity" as in the parallel occurrences above. The image comes from a personification of the agent of illness who causes pain by inserting a sharp horn in the ear of the patient.

XIII/16, n. CC. The traces in the small lacuna following the name of Psamtik point to a restoration of  *.w.s*: "life, prosperity and health."

XIII/16, n. DD. The meaning seems to require taking  *sm.k*: "You proceed" as the protasis of a conditional sentence or the like.

XIII/16, n. EE. In the lacuna of 1.5 cm. that follows *in.n.i wrt*: "I have brought the Great One..." The determinative (Sign-list G7) of the word *wrt*: "Great One" was likely written but what follows is unclear. The beginning of the next line seems to commence with the beginning of a new syntactical unit. On the term *wrt*, see XIII/11, n. H above.

XIII/17, n. FF. The use of fire against enemies is well-known in Egypt. Execration rituals often include the burning of figurines; the most extensive example of this practice can be found in the rituals published in *Urk. VI*. The *Osorkon Chronicle* refers to an actual burning of individuals who were responsible for rebellion in Thebes. See the discussion in R.K. Ritner *Mechanics* 157-159; and J. Zandee, *Death* 133-142.

XIII/17, n. GG. The traces suggest that *ii tw* should be restored here. The translation as a participle "...who come.." is based on the required sense.

XIII/17, n. HH. I take the definite article *p3* as having the force of the vocative marker here.

XIII/17, n. II. I take the definite article *t3* as having the force of the vocative marker here.

XIII/18, n. JJ. There is enough room for the restoration of the preposition *r*: "against."

XIII/18, n. KK. There is enough room for the restoration of *pr 3*: "pharaoh."

XIII/18, n. LL. The rubricized word that immediately follows the instruction *dd mdw hr*: "Recitation over..." cannot be read due to the faded and damaged state of the papyrus here.

XIII/18, n. MM. The group is a writing of the word *w3t*: "together." See III/14, n. AC above.

XIII/18, n. NN. The signs  can be read without difficulty but little sense can be made of them.

XIII/19, n. OO. The traces indicate  *p3k*: "strip of linen," which occurs at VII/12 and again at XII/12-13 above. See XII/12-13, n. EK and EL. The traces in the preceding line indicate a recipe, of which *p3k* or *stp p3k* would form a likely part.

TRANSLATION AND COMMENTARY OF SPELL Q
(COLUMN XIII, 19- XIV, 7)
(P. BROOKLYN 47.218.49)

19.*spell^A*.....

COLUMN XIV^B

1. [...] not^c [...] You shall not [...]^p.....barque (?)^e [...]
2. [...] Recite this spell over^f [...]^g of white bread [...]
3. [...] ear daily [...] dispel *tmw^h* from the ear of a man [...]ⁱ
4. [...] praise^j [...] the lord of the gods^k [...] so-and-so heart (?)^l ...oil [...]
5. [...] Ennead, come^m [...] may you rescue Pharaohⁿ [...]
6. [...] [...] herself after her like^o [...]
7. [...] heat in the ear [of Pharaoh.]^p Recitation^q [...] times^r [...]
8. ... cense (?)^s

COMMENTARY

General Remarks: The damage here and unclear placement of and connection between fragments make anything more than the identification of a few words impossible.

XIII/19, n. A. The rubricized sign  in the middle of XIII/19 is quite likely the vestiges of the introductory phrase  *ky r3*: "Another spell," indicating the beginning of a new Spell. From what is extant at the bottom of the sheet of papyrus on which Column XIII is written, line 19 is the last line of the column.

XIV, n. B. The final column of the text is fragmentary. When the papyrus was unrolled, the fragments of this column were given a provisional placement which careful study has proved to be incorrect. The very beginning of the column has

not been correctly aligned with what follows. It is not possible to determine how wide the original column was, though given the fact that all other columns are 19 cm., one can assume a similar width.

XIV/1, n. C. The reading of the signs  is all that is really clear at the beginning of this line.

XIV/1, n. D. The sign  (sign-list S24) appears to be written here. The sign below it is clearly not the sign .

XIV/1, n. E. The three signs  can be read.

XIV/2, n. F. The rubric  *dd.tw r3 pn hr*, with the sign  *hr* written in black ink, can be read clearly.

XIV/2, n. G. A word ending in *-i3*, with a bird-determinative can be read.

XIV/3, n. H. The reading of the words              *dr tmw*: "dispel *tmw*..." seems certain. On the term              *tmw*, see *WbMT* 952-953 where it is cited as a sickness caused by demons.

XIV/3, n. I. After the group               *msdr n s*: "...ear of a man...", nothing can be restored with confidence at the end of the line.

XIV/4, n. J. The group                can be read.

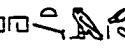
XIV/4, n. K. The reading of the phrase              *nb ntrw*: "lord of the gods" seems certain.

XIV/4, n. L. The signs                can be read but the meaning and how they fit with what precedes cannot be determined.

XIV/5, n. M. The first three signs of what may be the imperative              *m*: "come" are certain.

XIV/5, n. N. The reading                *sd.k pr 3* seems sure.

XIV/6, n. O.  *ds.s m-ht.s*: "...herself in her following..." is clear, but its relationship to what precedes and follows is not.

XIV/7, n. P.  *hh m msdr pr 3*: "...heat in the ear of Pharaoh..." is certain.

XIV/7, n. Q. The rubric is very faded but the word  *dd*: "Recite..." can be made out.

XIV/7, n. R. The sign ^⑩ (Sign list O50) can be seen but little else.

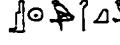
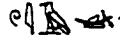
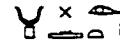
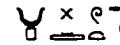
XIV/8, n. S. The single word of this line is perhaps  *pd*, *Wb.* I 568, 17-18, "(den weihrauch) räuchern; jem. beräuchern." It may occur as a final instruction here: "Incense!" The text ends here. An alternative reading is *pd nmt*, "wide of stride," a common epithet of divinities. See P. Wilson, *Ptolemaic Lexicon*, 383-384.

Index of Words and Phrases

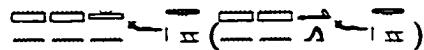
Discussed in the Notes

 <i>ȝbdw</i> : "Abydos": VII/14, n.BO	 <i>iwn</i> : "color" XII/11, n.EH
 <i>ȝmm</i> : "grab": XII/5, n.DX	 <i>Iwnw</i> : "Iunu, pillar god of Heliopolis": XII/1, n. DS
 <i>ȝh</i> : "akh": IV/4, n.W	
 <i>ȝt</i> : "atef-crown.": II/14, n.OO	 <i>ib</i> : designation of Apophis": XIII/14, n.T
 <i>ȝd</i> : "furious one": IV/6, n.BB	
 <i>ȝd</i> : "rage": VI/18, n.T; VIII/12, n.C	 <i>ib</i> : "heart": II/8, n.K
 <i>i</i> : "O": II/2, n.F	 <i>ibr</i> : "laudanum": III/14, n.YY
 <i>ȝdt</i> : "mound" (?): II/14, n.RR	 <i>ibh</i> : V/4, n. F
 <i>ȝdt</i> : "damage; torture": VIII/11, n.B	 <i>im3w</i> : "tent": XI/8, n.CL
 <i>ȝdt nw rnpt</i> : "pestilence of the year": IV/15, n.AQ	 <i>imn r</i> : "concealed from": VI/14, n.D
 <i>tȝ 4 rwȝ ȝ</i> : "the four great uraei": IX/15, n.Q	 <i>imn</i> : "imn-demon": IX/2, n.I
 <i>inm</i> : "skin": II/8, n.L; VI/15, n.F	
 <i>inh</i> : "surround": XI/13, n.CY	
 <i>ind hr</i> : "hail to": I/22, n.C	
 <i>irw</i> : II/16, n.WW	
 <i>iw dd.k</i> : "you say": X/15, n.AS	

	<i>iry mwt</i> : "one who makes death": VI/8, n.AM		<i>b</i> as "enmity": XIII/12, n.L; XIII/16, n.BB
	<i>iry hrwt.f.</i> : "who provides for his own needs,": V/16, n.V		<i>pnnt</i> : "worm" (?): V/11, n.Z
	<i>iry shrw</i> : "who fix destinies": IV/7, n.II		<i>fy</i> : "bee": V/10, n.Y
	<i>iry p'tt</i> : "prince": XI/5, n.CA		<i>ft</i> : "ft-plant": XII/15, n.EP
	<i>is</i> : particle: III/12, n.OO		<i>fnt spsy</i> : "noble fnt-cloth": X/16, n.AU
	<i>ist</i> : "crew": VI/3, n.PP; VII/5, n.ZZ		<i>m't</i> : "m't-woman": II/13, n.HH; XIII/5, n.FF
	<i>isds</i> : "Isdes": VII/9, n.AQ		<i>nw</i> : "turn around; avert": VIII/14, n.N
	<i>isrw</i> : "sacred lake": XI/13, n.CZ		<i>nh</i> : "live; feed (on)": VI/16, n.M
	<i>itt + r</i> : "remove to" (a place): VI/5, n.WW		<i>ntyw</i> : "myrrh": XII/13, n.EN
	<i>:influence</i> : XIII/14, n.S		<i>ch</i> : "multitude": III/13, n.UU;
	<i>nrw</i> : "great of terror": VI/8, n.AO		IV/11, n.WW; IX/15, n.R
	<i>km3</i> : "dun-colored ass": VII/16, n.BT		<i>hm</i> : "extinguish": VIII/1, n.C
	<i>bt</i> : "impure": II/13, n.HH		<i>hm</i> : "divine manifestation": IX/1, n.G

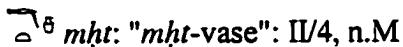
 <i>w3r</i> : "be far from":	 : "Osiris": X/19, n.BC
XII/5, n.DV	 <i>Wsir hkB dt</i> : "Osiris"
 <i>w3t</i> : "together": III/14, n.AC	 : "Hekadjet": III/16, n.F
 <i>wi3 n R</i> : "barque of Re":	 <i>wsx</i> : "gnaw; chew": II/13,
IX/14, n.P	n.LL; X/4, n.HH
 <i>wi3 n hh</i> : "barque of millions": V/14-15, n.R	 <i>wšr</i> : "dry up": VIII/18, n.R
 : "place of purification": X/19, n.BD	 <i>wts</i> : "raise up": X/9, n.XX
 <i>wbd</i> : "brand; burn": VIII/18, n.P	 <i>wts</i> : "carry": XI/10, n.CO
 <i>wpt irt.f</i> : "One who opens his eye": V/15, n.S	 <i>wd3t</i> : "wd3t-Eye": II/10, n.R; IX/17, n.V
 <i>wpst</i> : "Wepset": VI/9, n.AR	 <i>wd3t m3t</i> : "discern or distinguish what is just,":
 <i>wnm</i> : "left": I/21, n.A	III/15, n.C
 <i>wrt</i> : "The Great One": XIII/11, n.H	 <i>b</i> "Evil One": III/2, n.C; VII/3, n.II
 <i>wr b3w</i> : "great of Ba's": V/18, n.FF	 <i>b3wy</i> : "the two <i>ba</i> 's, i.e., Shu and Tefnut": XII/17, n.D
 <i>wh3</i> : "examine": XIII/10, n.WW	 <i>bik</i> : "falcon": XIII/15, nn.Y-Z
	 <i>bik nw-4</i> : "four falcons": IX/13, n.O

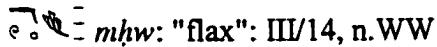
𠁻𠁻 <i>b'b'</i> : immersed": II/12, n.BB	𠁻𠁻𠁻 <i>fnd</i> : VI/12, n.BC
𠁻𠁻𠁻 <i>bwt</i> "abominations": II/6, n.B; II/14, n.NN	𠁻𠁻 <i>fift</i> : "tremble; palpitate": X/4, n.JJ
𠁻𠁻𠁻 <i>bnw</i> : "phoenix": II/17, n.AD	𠁻𠁻 <i>m-m</i> : "together with": VI/13, n.B
𠁻𠁻 <i>bhn</i> : "cut up": XIII/11, n.C	𠁻𠁻𠁻 <i>m-hs</i> : "against;" "in front of": III/8, n.Y
𠁻 <i>bhd</i> : "throne": XI/18, n.DM	𠁻 <i>m-hnw</i> : "within": II/10, n.R
𠁻 <i>p?</i> : vocative marker: XIII/17, n.HH	𠁻𠁻 <i>m ss hh sp</i> : "truly effective millions of times": VIII/1, n.CJ
𠁻 <i>p3k</i> : "fine linen": VII/12, n.BI	𠁻𠁻 <i>m-dbw</i> : "as punishment for": VIII/16, n.E
𠁻 <i>pfy</i> "fiend": II/11, n.X	𠁻 <i>m33</i> : "god who sees": IX/11, n.K
𠁻 <i>pn</i> : "overturn": III/11, n.KK; VI/15, n.F	𠁻 <i>miw</i> : "cat": XI/14, n.DD
𠁻 <i>pr md3t</i> : "house of the book- roll": VII/19, n.CF	𠁻𠁻 <i>miwt hmt</i> : "female cat": XIII/15, n.Z
𠁻 <i>phty</i> : "strength; potency": X/8, n.UU	𠁻𠁻 <i>miw 3</i> : "the Great Cat": IX/15, n.S
𠁻 <i>ph</i> : "cut through": XI/19, n.DP	𠁻𠁻 <i>m'b3yt</i> : "Tribunal of Thirty": VIII/15, n.C
𠁻 <i>pt rsy</i> : "the southern heaven": X/14, n.AO	
𠁻 <i>pd</i> : "cense;" "wide of stride": XIV/8, n.S	

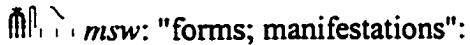


mn mn n.f t3 "he who shakes the earth": VI/3, n.MM; IX/11, n.I
and n.J


mht ib: "make the heart forgetful": X/3, n.FF

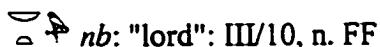

mht: "mht-vase": II/4, n.M


mhw: "flax": III/14, n.WW

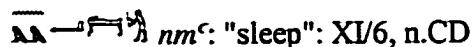

msw: "forms; manifestations": V/13, n.K


msktt: "msktt-barque": IX/16, n.T


mt: the non-enclitic particle:
XIII/11, n.E


nb: "lord": III/10, n. FF


nbd: "nbd-demon; fiend": VIII/13, n.K


nm: "sleep": XI/6, n.CD


nri "vulture": II/17, n.AE

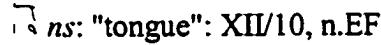

nhs: "nhs; Seth-animal":

VIII/14, n.L


nhm: "seize; save": IV/3, n.R


nhm r3: "take away

speech": X/5, n.LL


ns: "tongue": XII/10, n.EF

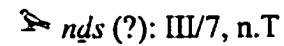

nsb: "swallow": VIII/12, n.D;

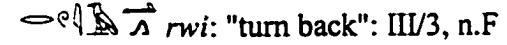
XII/18, n.E


p3 nk: "the fornicator":

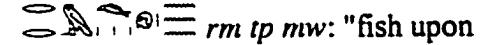
XII/7, n.EA

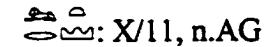

ndri: "rob": XI/4, n.BW


nds (?): III/7, n.T

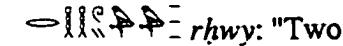

rwi: "turn back": III/3, n.F


rw3: "fresh": II/5, n.S


rm tp mw: "fish upon water": VIII/8, n.E


X/11, n.AG


rhnt: "ram": VIII/15, n.D


rhwy: "Two

Companions": VI/4, n.QQ

𢃠 𢃠 𢃠 <i>rswy tp</i> : "wakefulness": IX/3,	𢃠 𢃠 𢃠 <i>hry-tp</i> : "having authority over": III/15, n.B
n.N	
𢃠 𢃠 𢃠 𢃠 𢃠 <i>rk3y</i> : "Widersacher, Feind": IV/11, n.XX	𢃠 𢃠 𢃠 𢃠 𢃠 <i>hh</i> : "millions": X/1, n.Z
𢃠 𢃠 𢃠 𢃠 <i>h3</i> : "descend": X/10, n.AD	𢃠 𢃠 𢃠 𢃠 𢃠 <i>hs</i> : "excrement": II/5, n.R; VII/13, n.BL
𢃠 𢃠 𢃠 𢃠 <i>h3y</i> : "assault": II/16, n.XX	𢃠 𢃠 𢃠 𢃠 𢃠 𢃠 <i>hs3w</i> : "band": V/11, n.BB
𢃠 𢃠 𢃠 <i>hiw</i> : "hiw-snake, a manifestation of Apophis and Seth": XI/14, n.DG	𢃠 𢃠 𢃠 𢃠 𢃠 𢃠 <i>hsb</i> : "doom": IV/15, n.AP
𢃠 𢃠 𢃠 𢃠 𢃠 <i>hh</i> : "heat;fire": VIII/5, n.X	𢃠 𢃠 𢃠 𢃠 𢃠 𢃠 <i>hsk</i> : "decapitate": XII/18, n.O and n.P
𢃠 𢃠 𢃠 𢃠 𢃠 <i>h3ty</i> : "heart:" II/8, n.K	𢃠 𢃠 𢃠 𢃠 𢃠 𢃠 <i>hdrt</i> : III/14, n.ZZ
𢃠 𢃠 𢃠 𢃠 𢃠 <i>hw</i> : "Hu": IX/10, n.G	𢃠 𢃠 𢃠 𢃠 𢃠 𢃠 <i>h3c</i> : "cast out; hurl": X/3, n.EE
𢃠 𢃠 𢃠 𢃠 𢃠 <i>hwi</i> : "strike": XIII/14, n.U	𢃠 𢃠 𢃠 𢃠 𢃠 𢃠 <i>h3cr mw</i> : "throw into the water": XII/14, n.EO
𢃠 𢃠 𢃠 𢃠 𢃠 <i>hww</i> : "to flood": IV/16, n.AU	𢃠 𢃠 𢃠 𢃠 𢃠 𢃠 <i>hprw st3w</i> : "secret forms": X/8, n.WW
𢃠 𢃠 𢃠 𢃠 𢃠 <i>hmt r3</i> "et cetera": II/11, n.Z	𢃠 𢃠 𢃠 𢃠 𢃠 𢃠 <i>hm</i> : "Letopolis": II/9, n.O
𢃠 𢃠 𢃠 𢃠 𢃠 <i>hnmm</i> : "mankind": VI/5, n.VV; VI/17, n.O	𢃠 𢃠 𢃠 𢃠 𢃠 𢃠 <i>hnr3m</i> : XII/5, n.DW
𢃠 𢃠 𢃠 𢃠 𢃠 <i>hnhn</i> : "hold back from going forth": X/4, n.II	𢃠 𢃠 𢃠 𢃠 𢃠 𢃠 <i>hnsw</i> : "swelling": VIII/13, n.H
𢃠 𢃠 𢃠 𢃠 𢃠 <i>hr st.f</i> : "in its place": IV/9, n.SS	

hnty-hm: an epithet of Horus of Letopolis: II/9, n.O

hndw: "tie up": VIII/16, n.G

hr: "fall; make fall": VIII/12 n.E

hsf: "make war": II/8, n.J

hrwt: "possess": VIII/8, n.H

hdb: "kill": VIII/17, n.M

s3 h3 s3 ii s3: II/16, n.ZZ

st-: "influence": VIII/4, n.V

st imn: "secret place":

X/8, n.WW

s3 hr: "boy Horus": VIII/3,

n.N

s3ty: "Twins, i.e. Shu and

Tefnut": XII/17, n.C

st3: "Sia": IX/10, n.G

sip: "count; inspect": III/10, n.GG

swhr: "vilify": X/11-12, n.AJ

sbiw: rebels": V/13, n.J

sft: "sft-oil": III/14, n.XX

sm3w: "accomplices":

IV/6, n.DD

sn: "make one's form"

unrecognizable": IX/2, n.K

snwh: "boil": II/17, n.AF

shri: "drive off": V/11, n.A

shtm: "annihilate": V/13, n.H

shm: "divine power; effigy":

XII/17, n.I

shm-ib: VI/6, n.AD

sht: "catcher": VIII/9, n.K

shdw: "be upside down":

XIII/5, n.HH

sh3k: "filter": III/14, n.AD

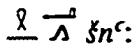
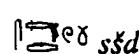
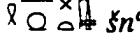
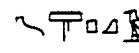
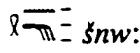
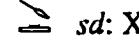
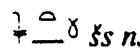
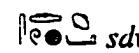
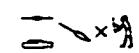
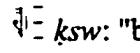
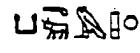
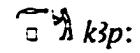
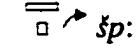
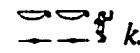
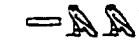
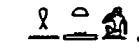
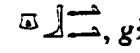
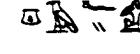
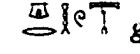
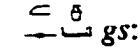
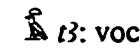
ssw: "time": V/17, n.Z

sswn: "punish": VIII/2, n.H

ssm: "lead; show": X/7, n.QQ

ssm w3t: "follow a path":

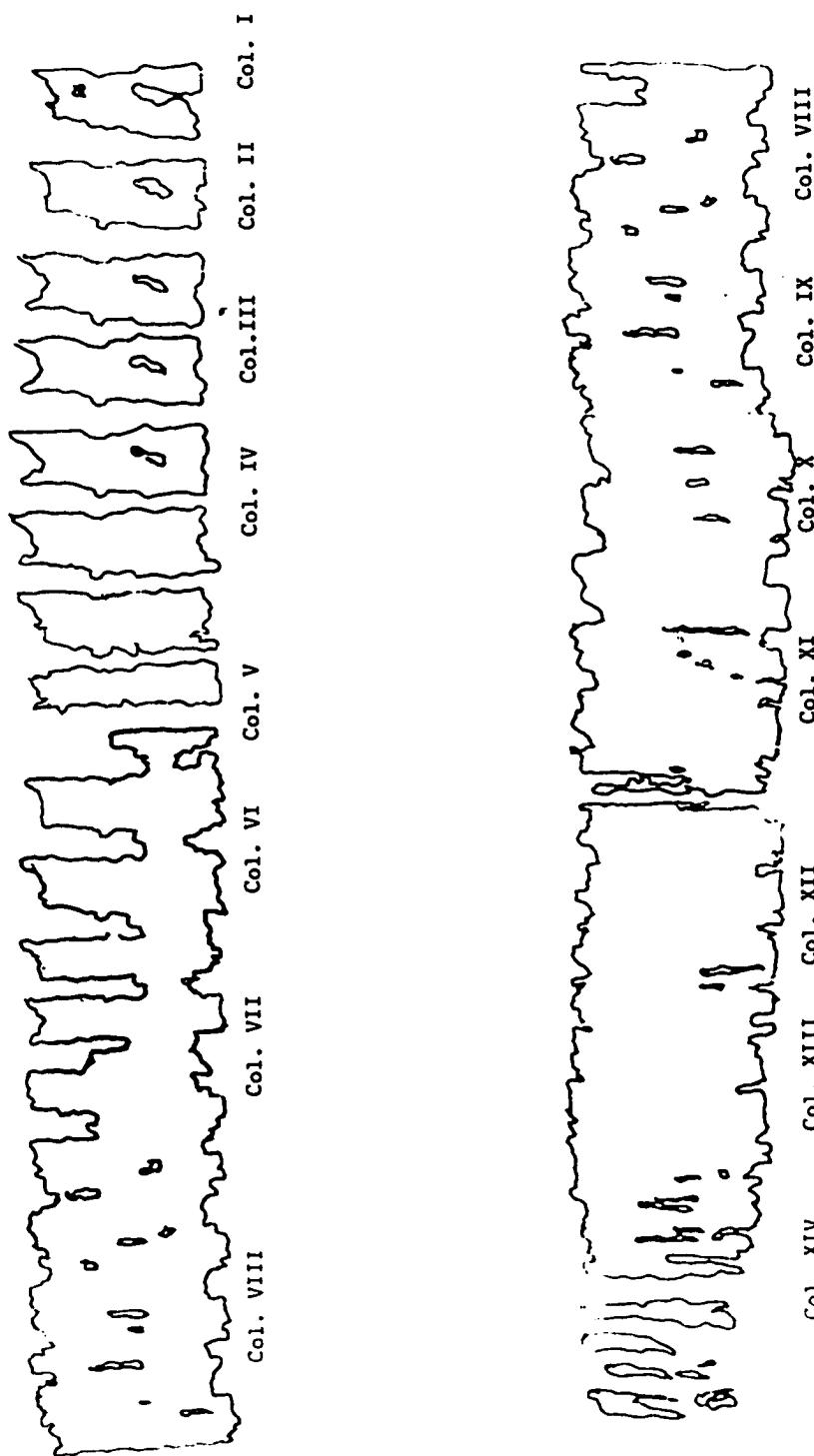
X/18, n.AX

 ssmyw:	"manifestations; images": X/7, n.QQ; X/11, n.AE; X/15, n.AT	 sn: "turn away; be in fear": XI/6, n.CF
 ssd: "bind": VIII/12, n.F		 snwt: "snwt-town": VII/4, n.UU
 stp pk3: "strip of fine linen": VII/12; XII/12-13, n.EL		 snw: "hair": II/9, n.P
 sd: XII/7, n.EB		 ss nswt: "royal linen,": V/2, n.BE
 sdwh: "embalm": X/19, n.BD		 kri3: XII/17, n.G
 sd: "break": XII/18, n.N		 ksw: "bones; harpoons": V/17,
 sdm: "the god who hears": IX/11, n.K		n.HH
 swt: "feather": II/17, n.AD		 k3 m Iwnw: "Bull in Heliopolis": III/15, n.D
 sfwt: "majesty; awe": VI/18, n.U; X/7, n.TT		 k3p: "k3p-demon": IX/2, n.H
 sp: "flow out": IX/6, n.A		 ksks: "dance": XII/7, n.EC
 smm: "fever": IV/15, n.AS		 giw: "giw-plant": V/4, n.C
 sni: "conjure; read": VII/13, n.BJ; VIII/6, n.BB; VIII/19, n.A		 gbw: "arm": V/14, n.O
		 gmh: "see": X/1/3, n.BO
		 gnf: "rebuff": II/3, n.H
		 grh: VI/11, n.BA
		 gs: "annoint; smear": II/12, n.DD
		 t3: "vocative marker": XIII/17, n.II

𢂔𢂕𢂖𢂗𢂘 <i>t3wh</i> : "make mischief":	𢂔𢂕𢂖𢂗𢂘 <i>dmdt</i> : "sum; total": V/12,
IX/5, n.V	n.D
𢂔𢂕𢂖𢂗𢂘 <i>twr</i> : VIII/5, n.Z	𢂔𢂕𢂖𢂗𢂘 <i>dnywt</i> : "Roarers": XII/16,
𢂔𢂕𢂖𢂗𢂘 <i>tp</i> <i>wy.tw</i> : "before; in the presence of": VIII/11, n.A	n.A
𢂔𢂕𢂖𢂗𢂘 <i>tp</i> : "fine oil": XII/13, n.EM	𢂔𢂕𢂖𢂗𢂘 <i>drg3r</i> : "bat": II/17, n.AC
𢂔𢂕𢂖𢂗𢂘 <i>tmw</i> : a disease: XIV/3, n.H	𢂔𢂕𢂖𢂗𢂘 <i>dhrt</i> : "bitterness": III/5, n.O;
𢂔𢂕𢂖𢂗𢂘 <i>trw</i> : blood": II/12, n.EE	X/4, n.GG
𢂔𢂕𢂖𢂗𢂘 <i>thb</i> : "immerse": XII/15, n.EQ	𢂔𢂕𢂖𢂗𢂘 <i>ds</i> : "stab": VI/6, n.AC
𢂔𢂕𢂖𢂗𢂘 <i>tkn</i> : "draw near; approach": XI/14, n.DH	𢂔𢂕𢂖𢂗𢂘 <i>dg3:P</i> "hide": II/15, n.UU; XIII/6, n.LL
𢂔𢂕𢂖𢂗𢂘 <i>�w</i> : part of a plant": XII/15, n.ER	𢂔𢂕𢂖𢂗𢂘 <i>d3i</i> : "pass": V/10, n.S
𢂔𢂕𢂖𢂗𢂘 <i>tf</i> : "overflow": V/17, n.BB	𢂔𢂕𢂖𢂗𢂘 <i>d3is</i> : "d3is-plant": VIII/6, n.CC
𢂔𢂕𢂖𢂗𢂘 <i>dw3t s3t3</i> : XII/5, n.DY	𢂔𢂕𢂖𢂗𢂘 <i>d3d3</i> : "tribunal": XI/17, n.DL
𢂔𢂕𢂖𢂗𢂘 <i>dm</i> : "pronounce": X/2, n.BB	𢂔𢂕𢂖𢂗𢂘 <i>d3d3</i> : "head": IV/15, n.AR
𢂔𢂕𢂖𢂗𢂘 <i>dmd</i> : "fixed moment": VIII/9, n.N	𢂔𢂕𢂖𢂗𢂘 <i>dcm</i> : "dcm-sceptre": XII/18, n.P
	𢂔𢂕𢂖𢂗𢂘 <i>dw ir.k</i> : "evil against you": XII/6, n.DZ
	𢂔𢂕𢂖𢂗𢂘 <i>d3m</i> : "papyrus-roll": VIII/11, n.R
	𢂔𢂕𢂖𢂗𢂘 <i>dd</i> : "Busiris": VII/14, n.BO

גַּם־× *ddf.* "tremble": V/6, n.I

Plate I. Diagram of *pBrooklyn* 47.218.49



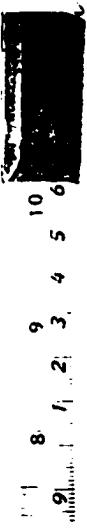


Plate 2. Photograph of Column I

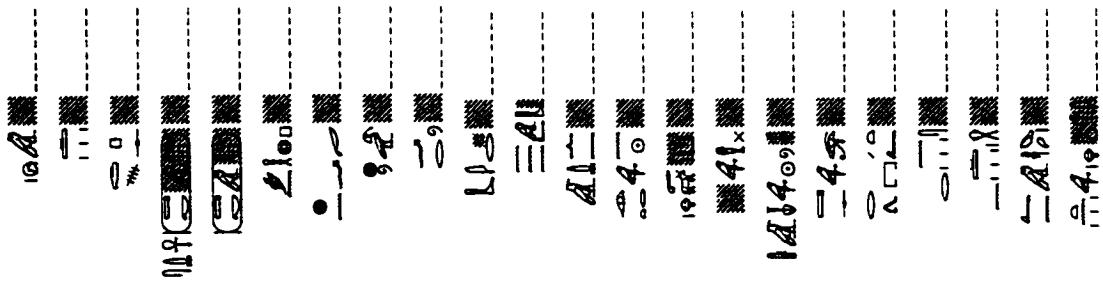
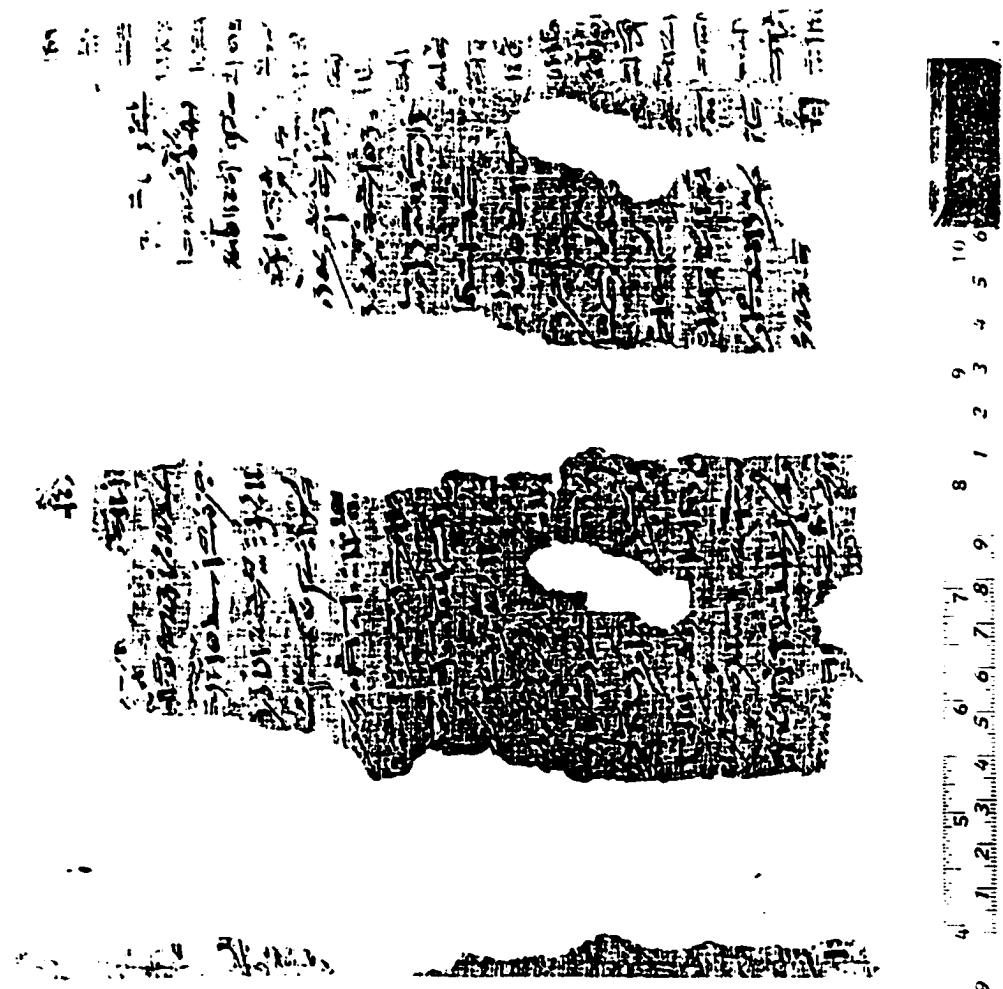


Plate 3. Hieroglyphic Transcription of Column I (*pBrooklyn* 47.218.49)

Plate 4. Photograph of Column II



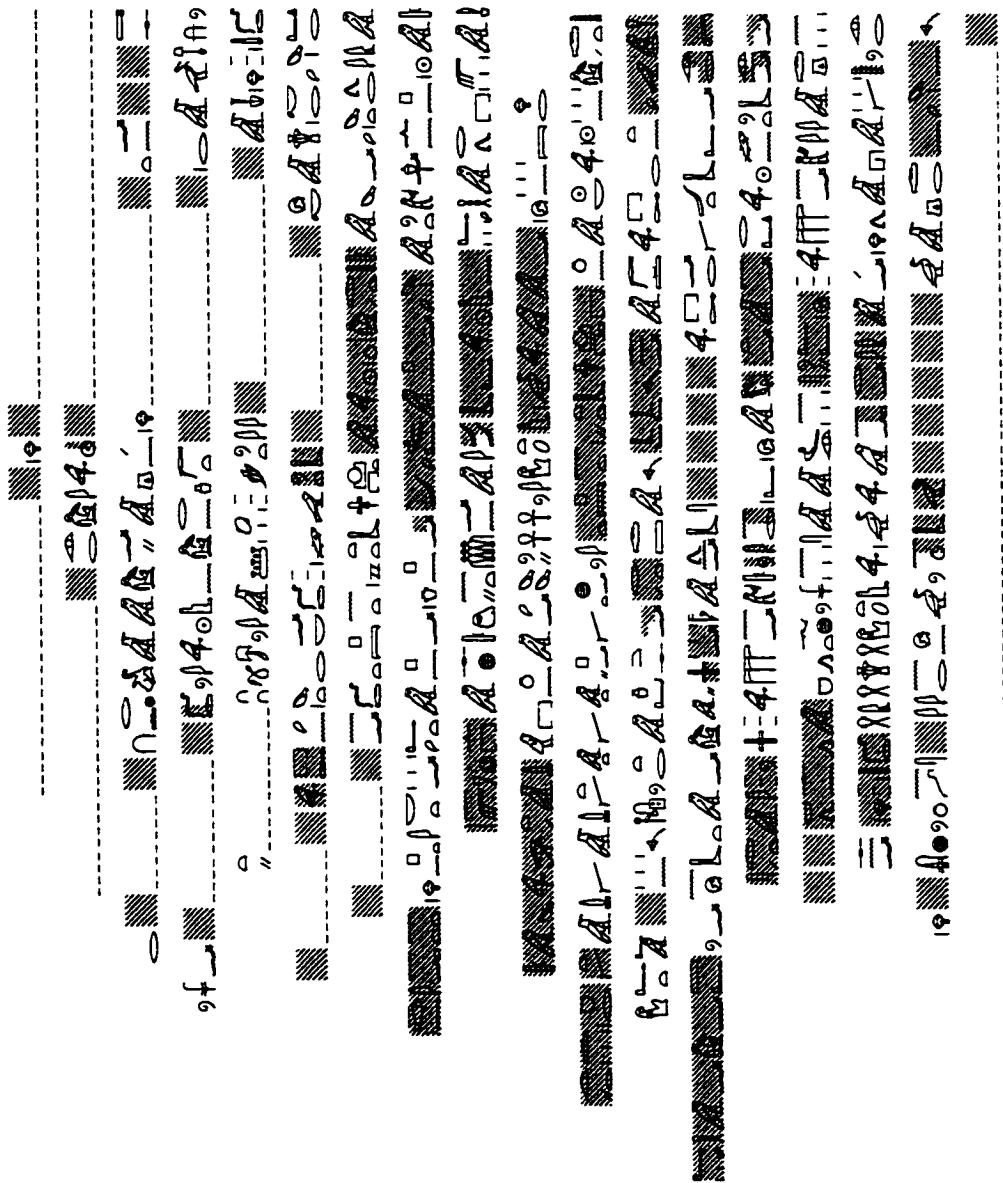
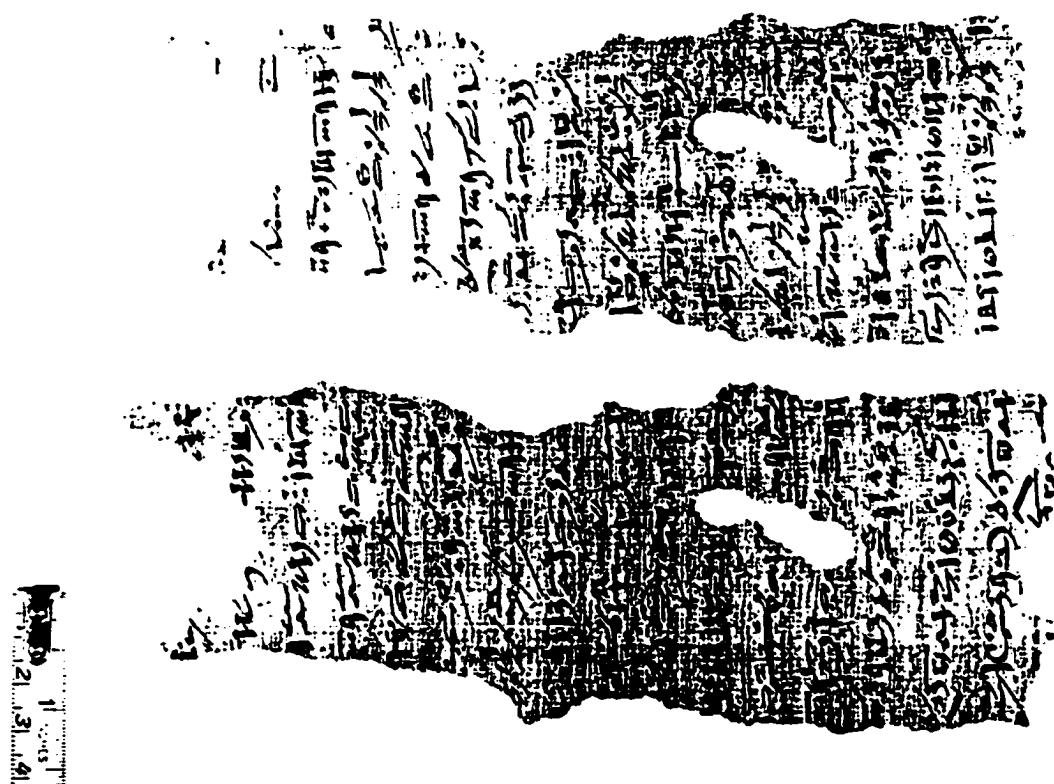


Plate 5. Hieroglyphic Transcription of Column II (*pBrooklyn 47.218.49*)

Plate 6. Photograph of Column III



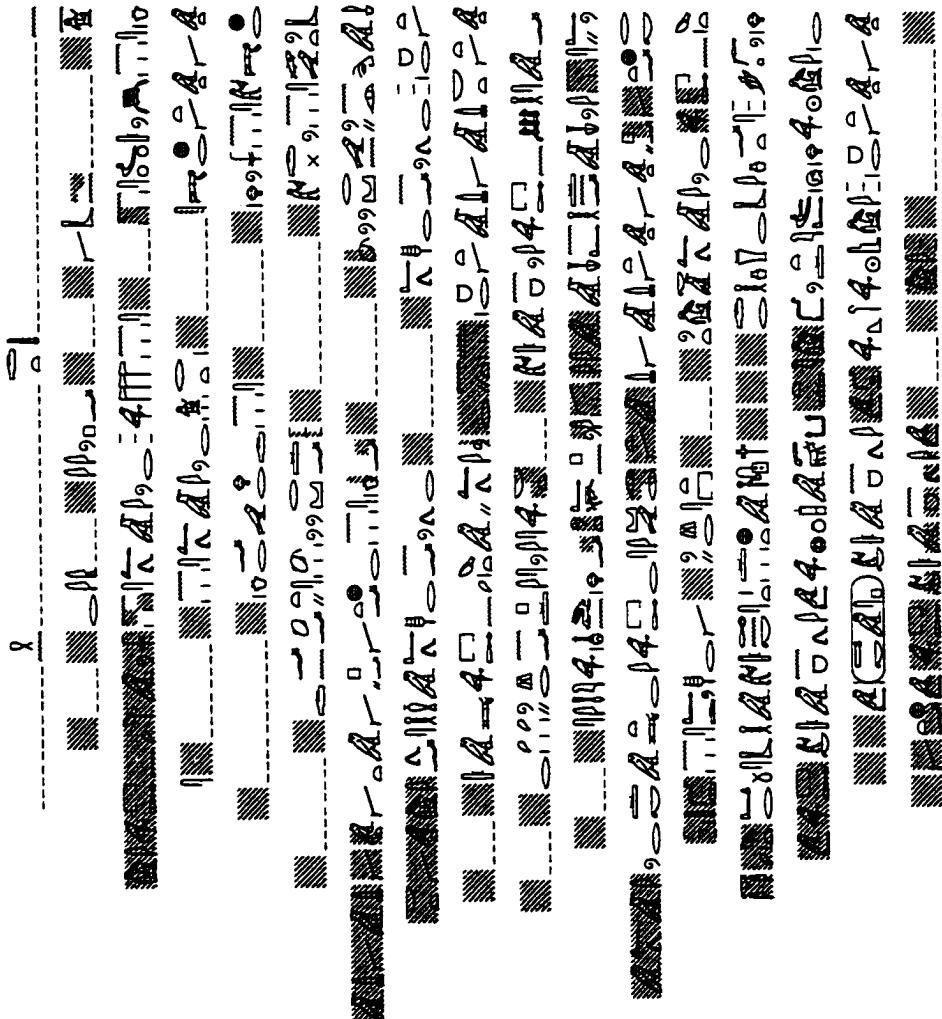
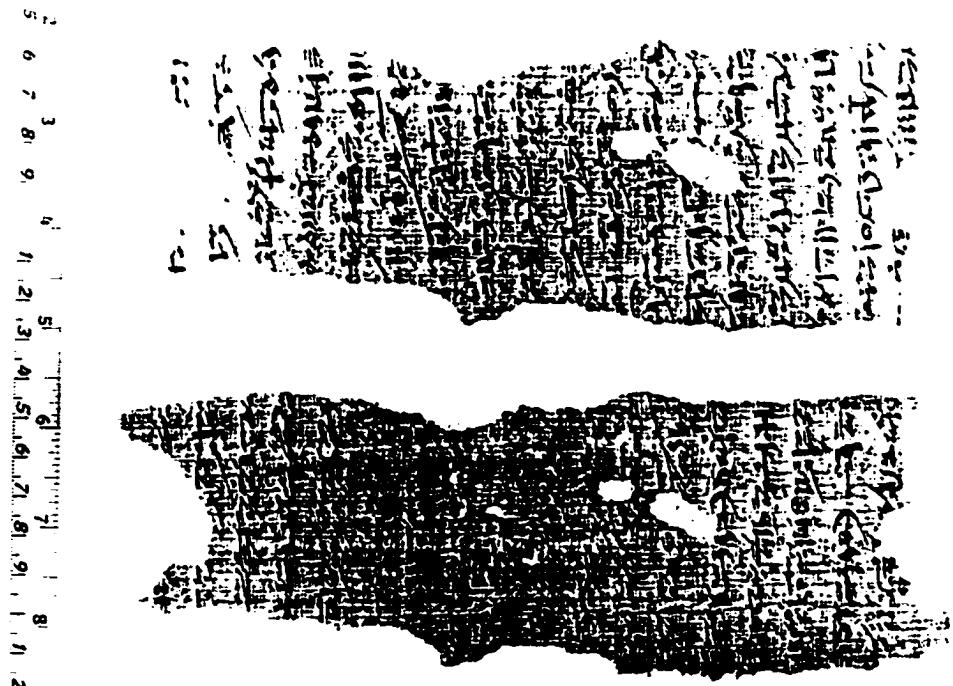


Plate 7. Hieroglyphic Transcription of Column III (*pBrooklyn 47.218.49*)

Plate 8 Photograph of Column IV



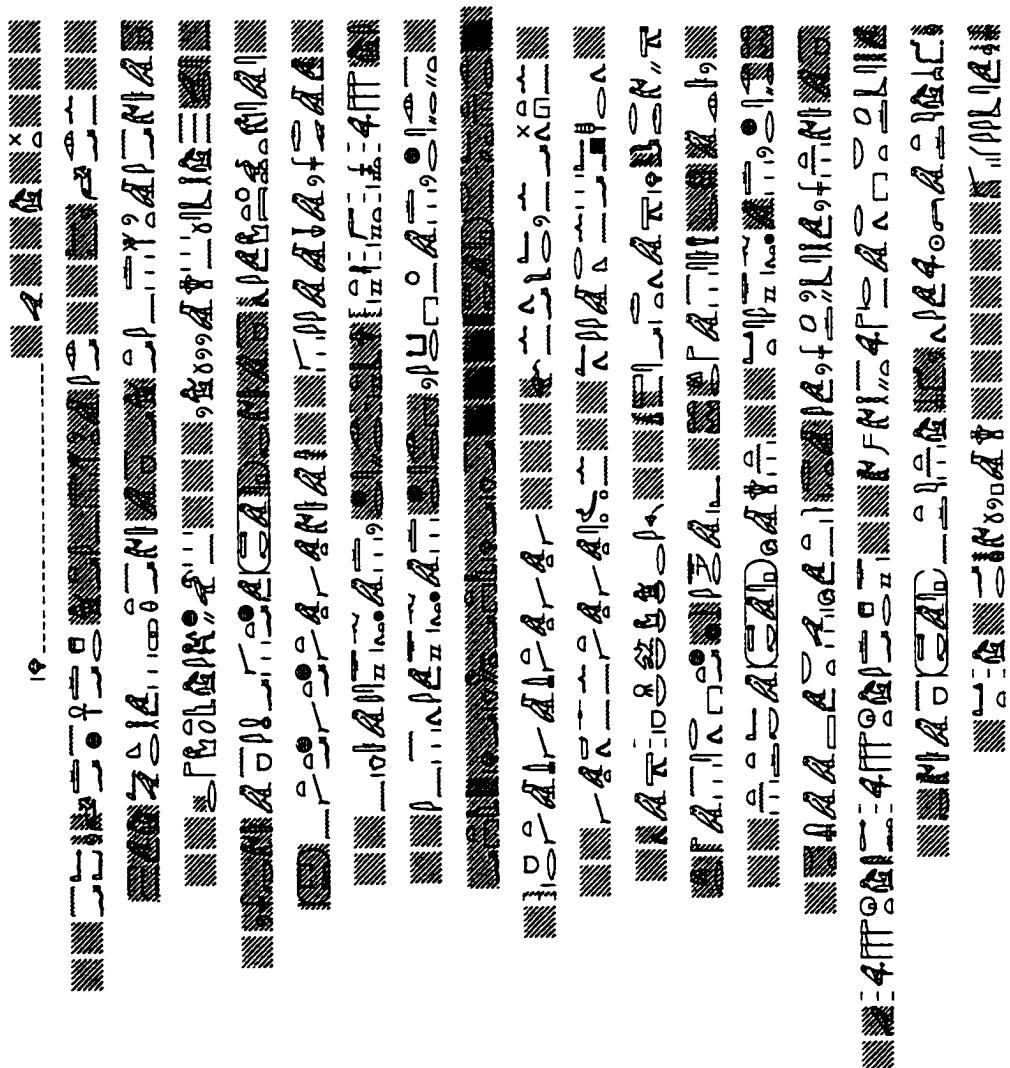
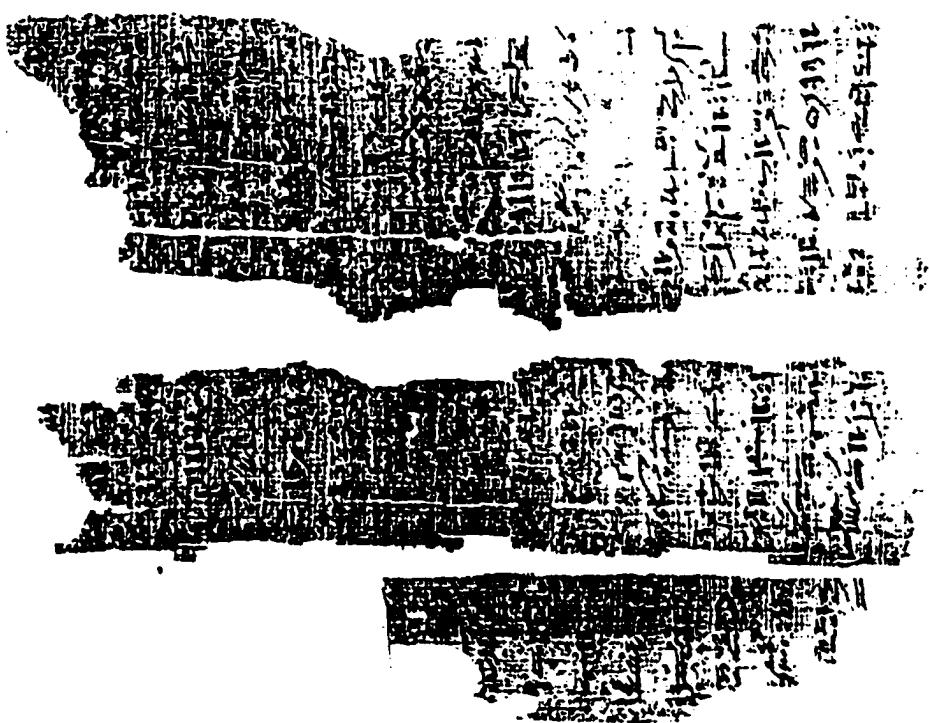


Plate 9. Hieroglyphic Transcription of Column IV (*pBrooklyn 47.218.49*)

Plate 10. Photograph of Column V



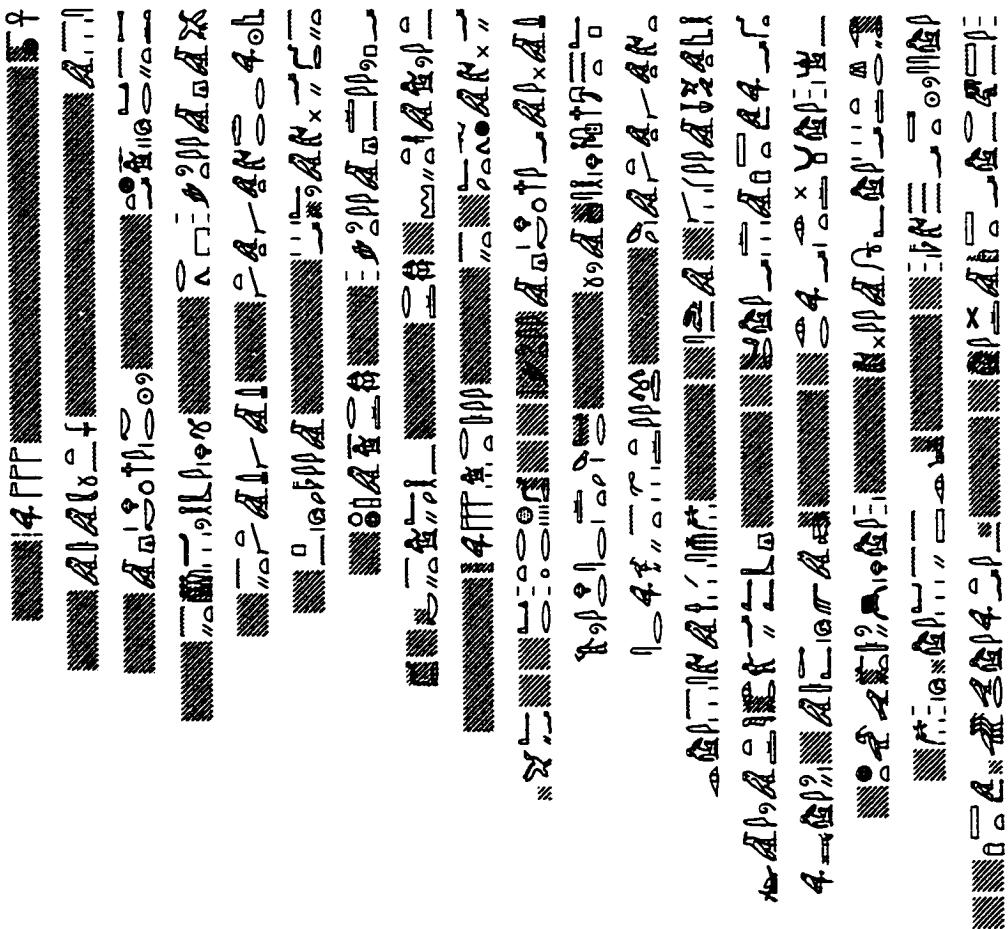
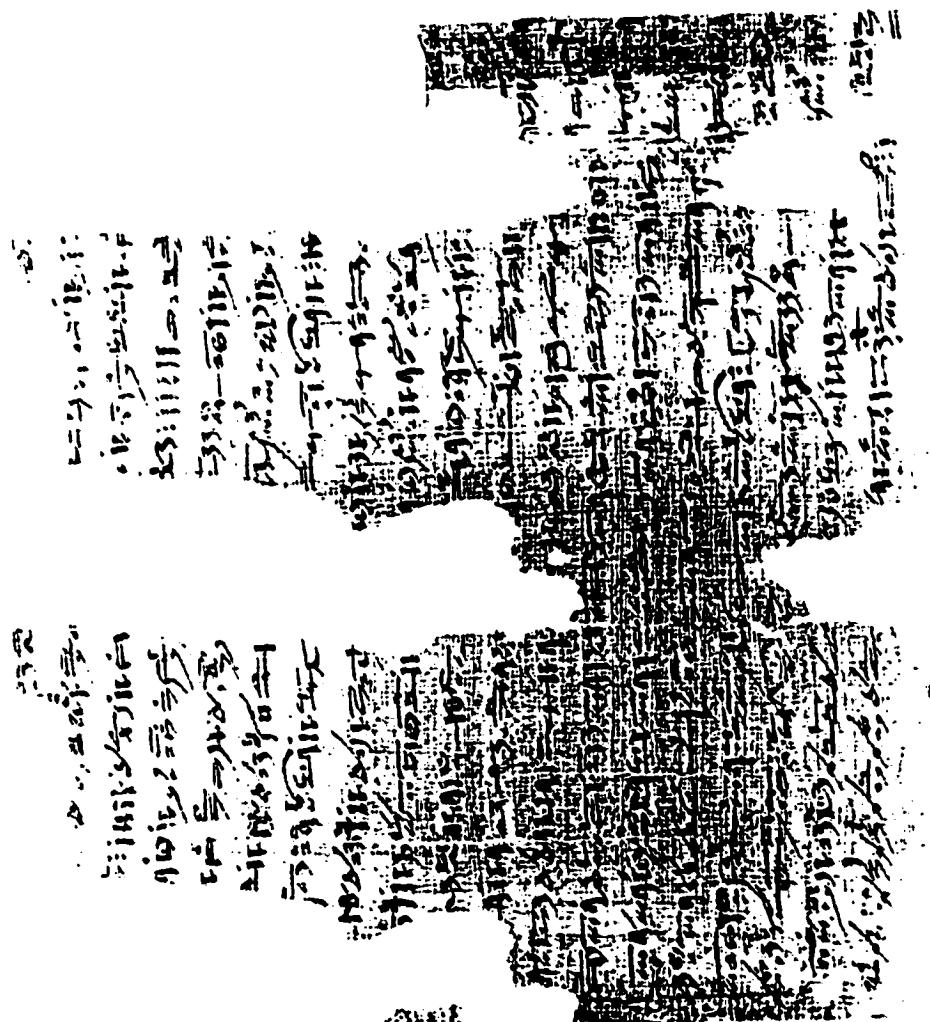


Plate 11. Hieroglyphic Transcription of Column V (*pBrooklyn 47.218.49*)

Plate 12. Photograph of Column VI
of the Palaeolithic Manuscript
of the Kharanaq (Kashan) Caves.



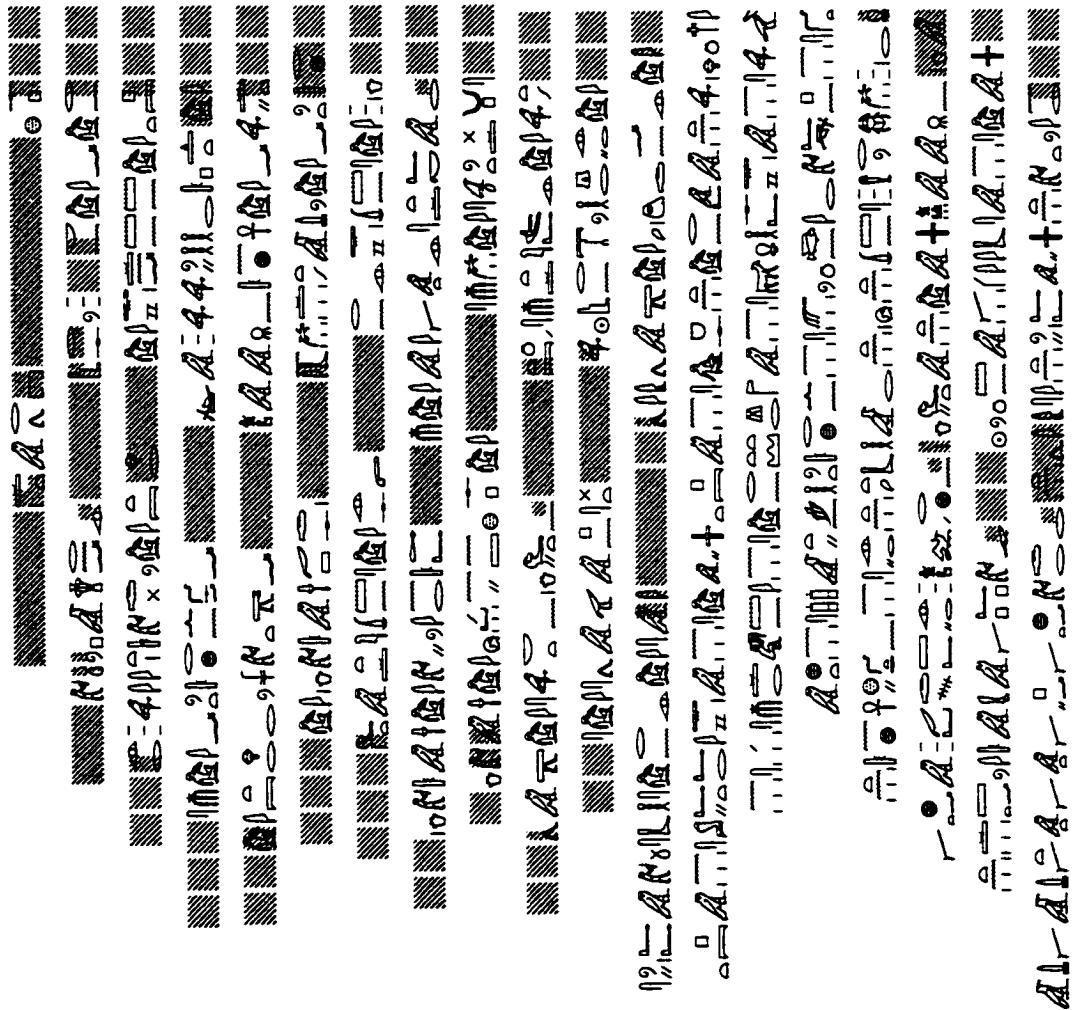


Plate 13. Hieroglyphic Transcription of Column VI (*pBrooklyn 47.218.49*)

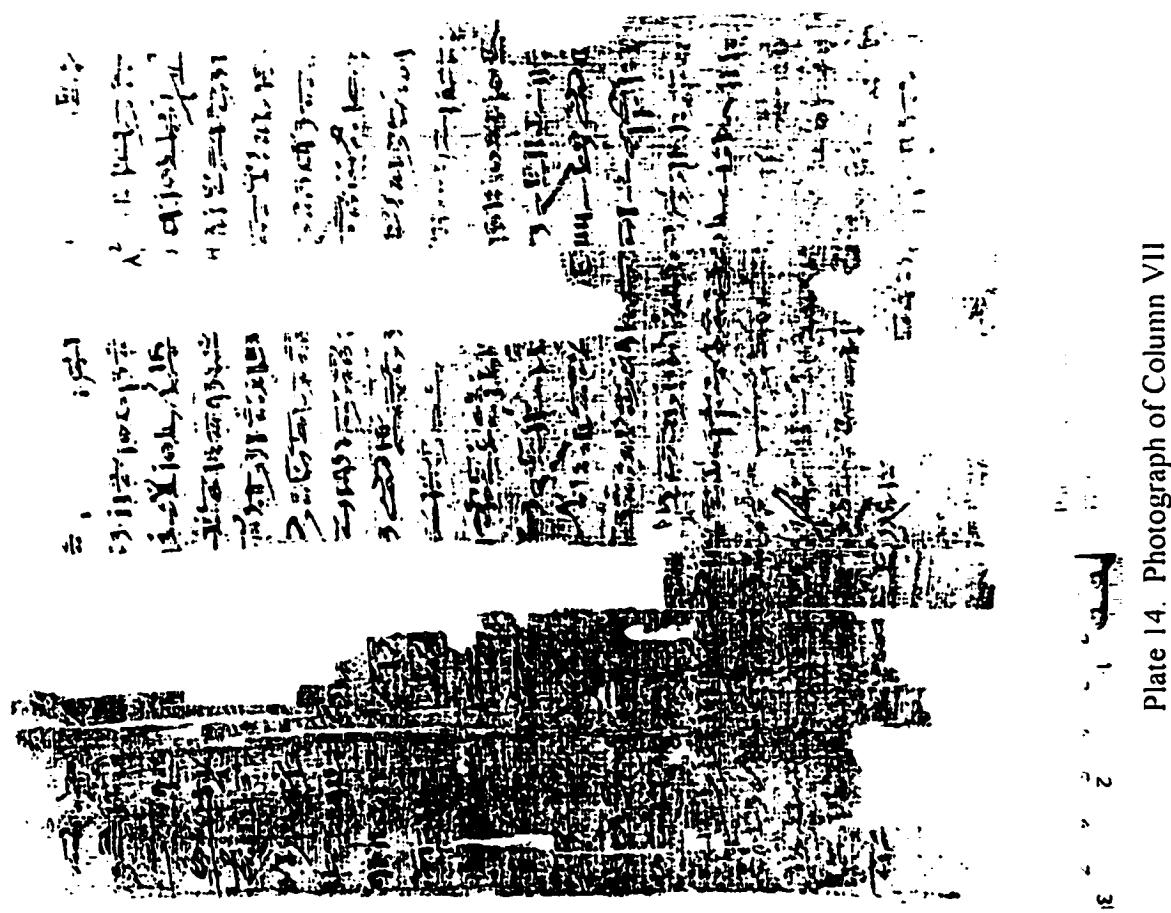


Plate 14. Photograph of Column VII

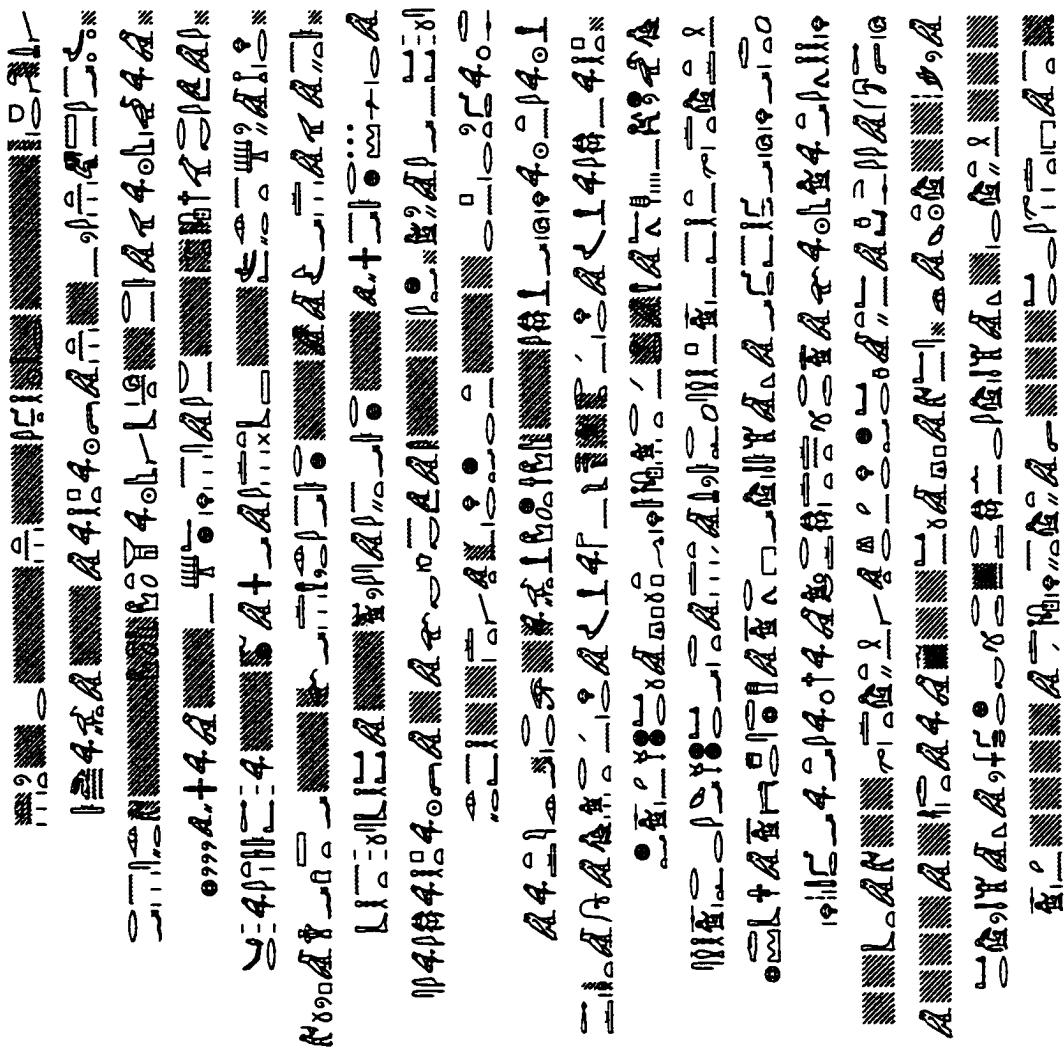


Plate 15. Hieroglyphic Transcription of Column VII (*pBrooklyn 47.218.49*)

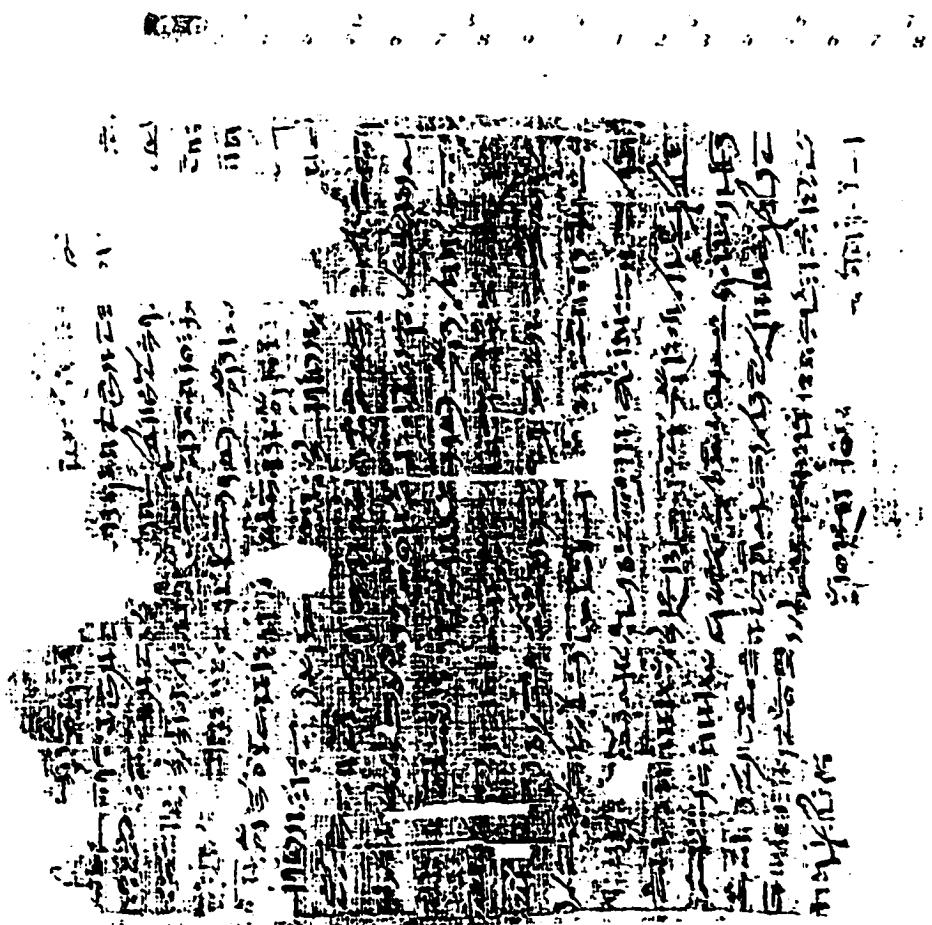


Plate 16. Photograph of Column VIII

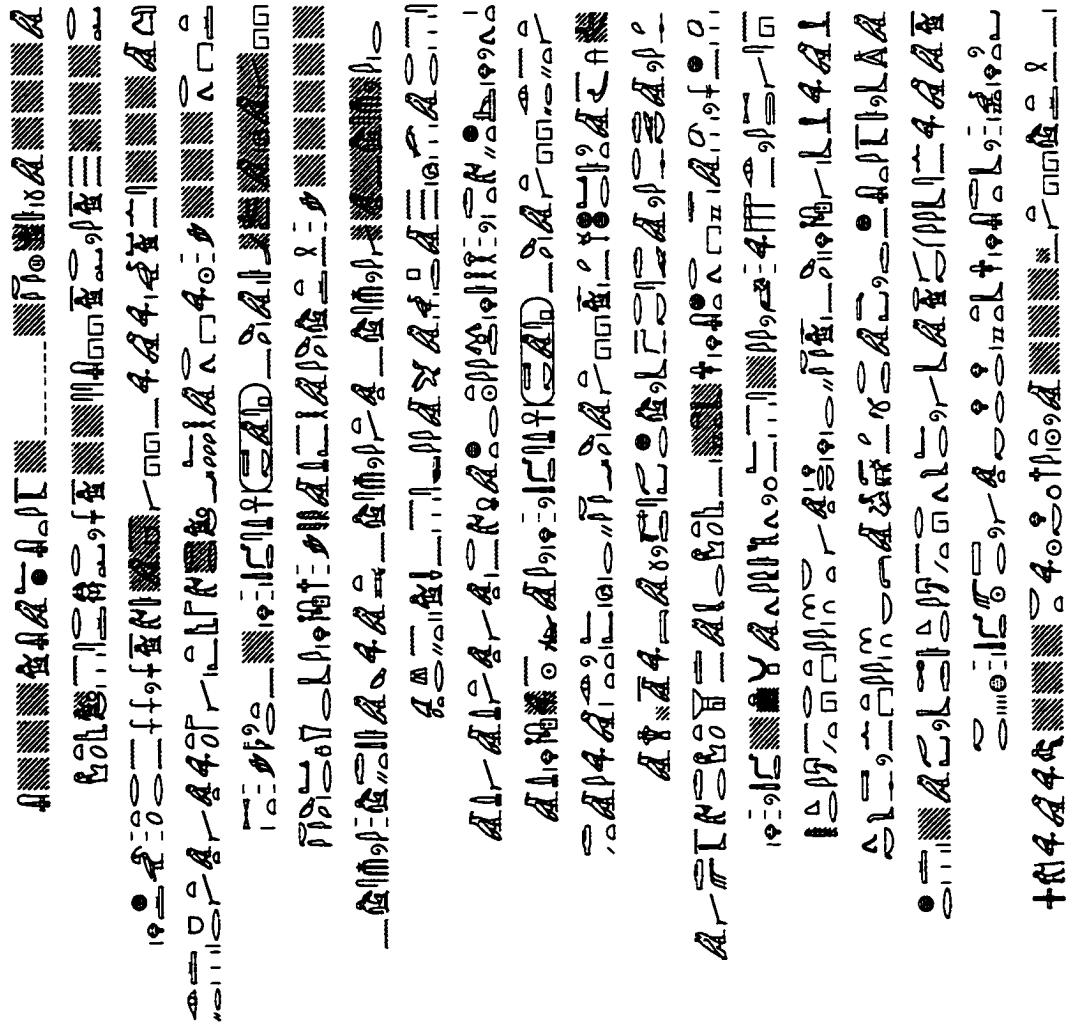
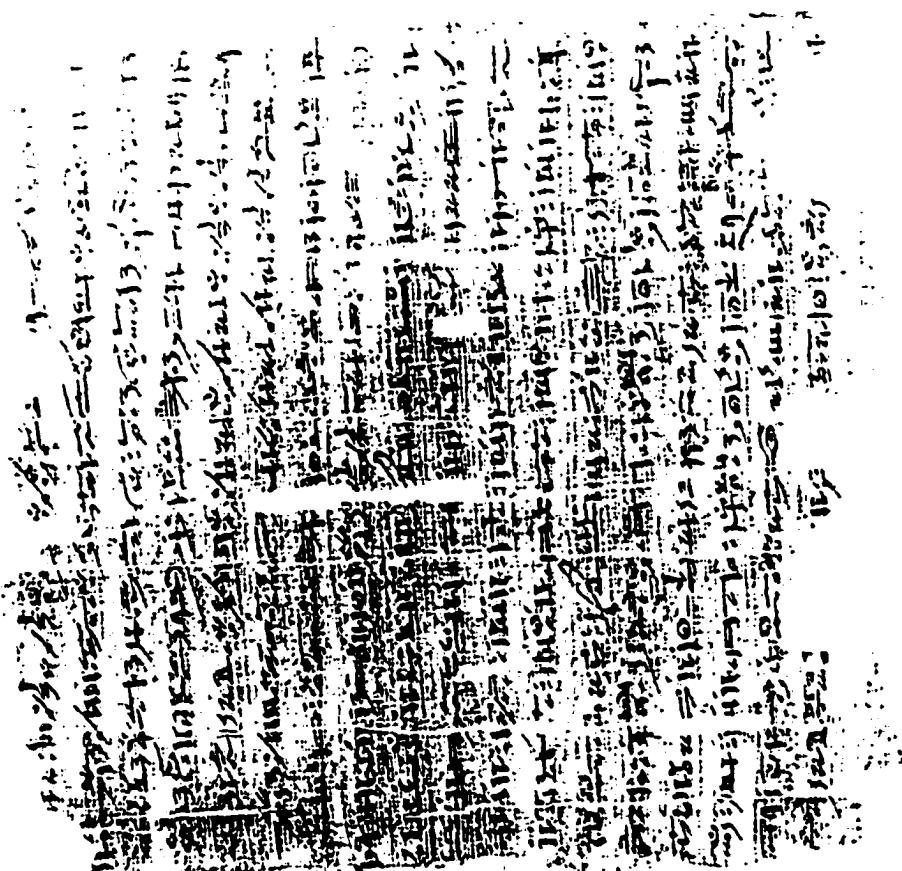


Plate 17. Hieroglyphic Transcription of Column VIII

Plate 18. Photograph of Column IX

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15



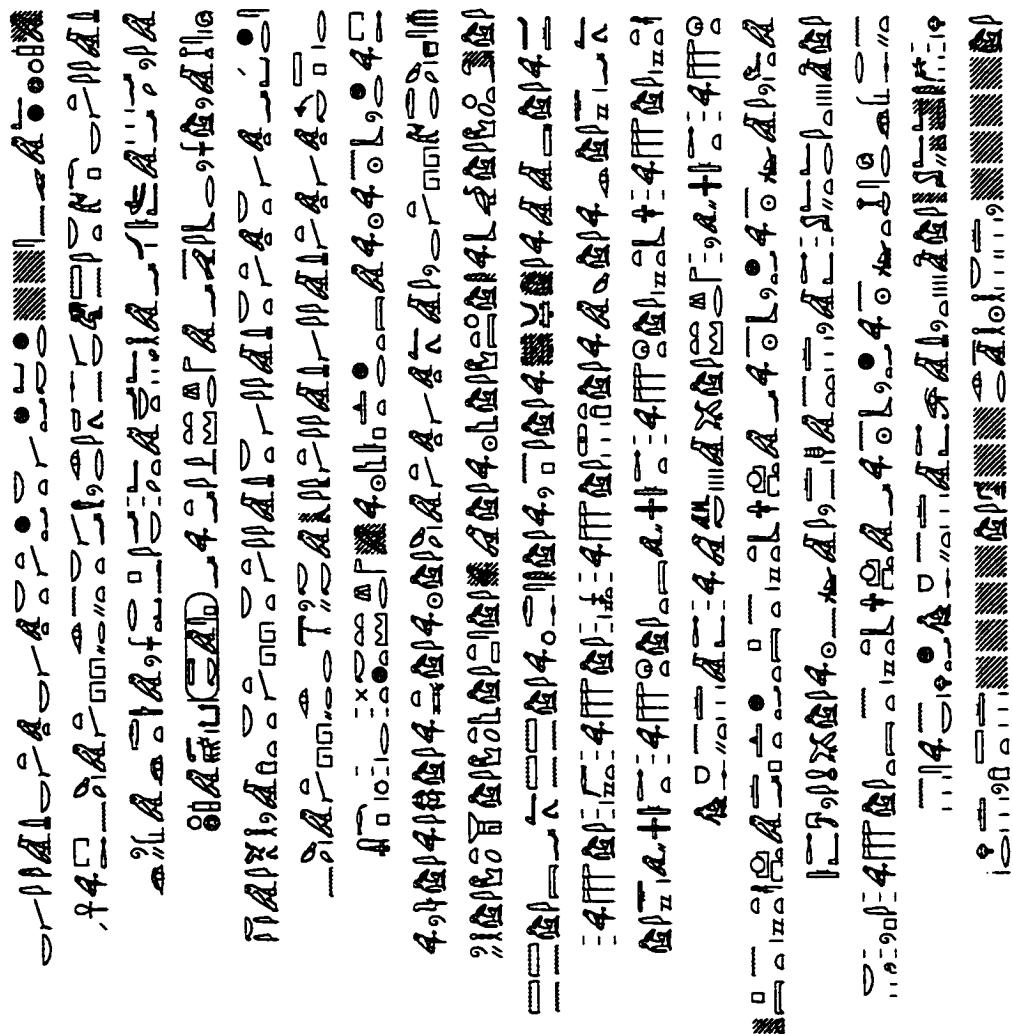


Plate 19. Hieroglyphic Transcription of Column IX (*pBrooklyn 47.218.49*)

Plate 20. Photograph of Column X



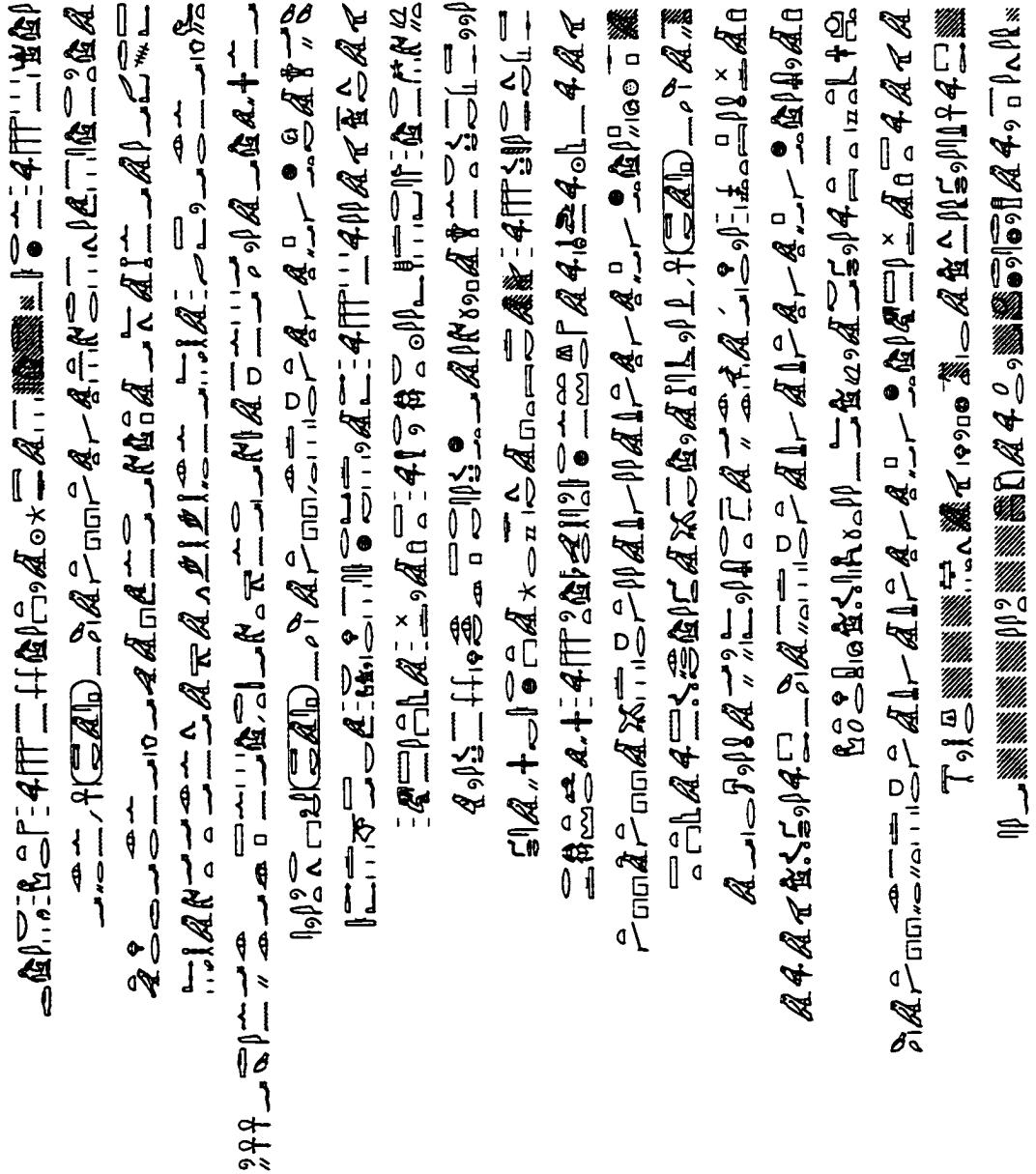
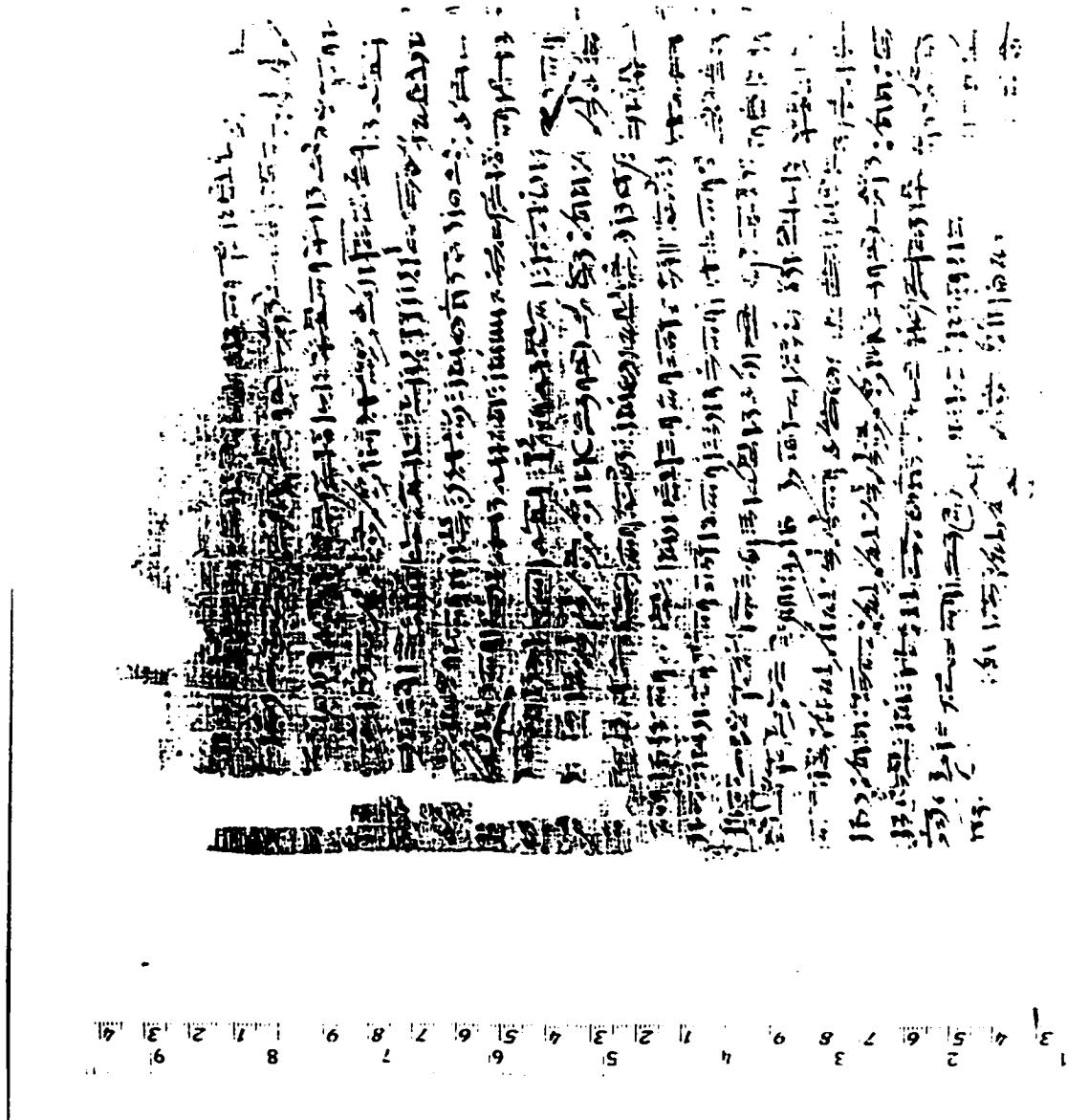


Plate 21. Hieroglyphic Transcription of Column X (*pBrooklyn 47.218.49*)

Plate 22. Photograph of Column XI



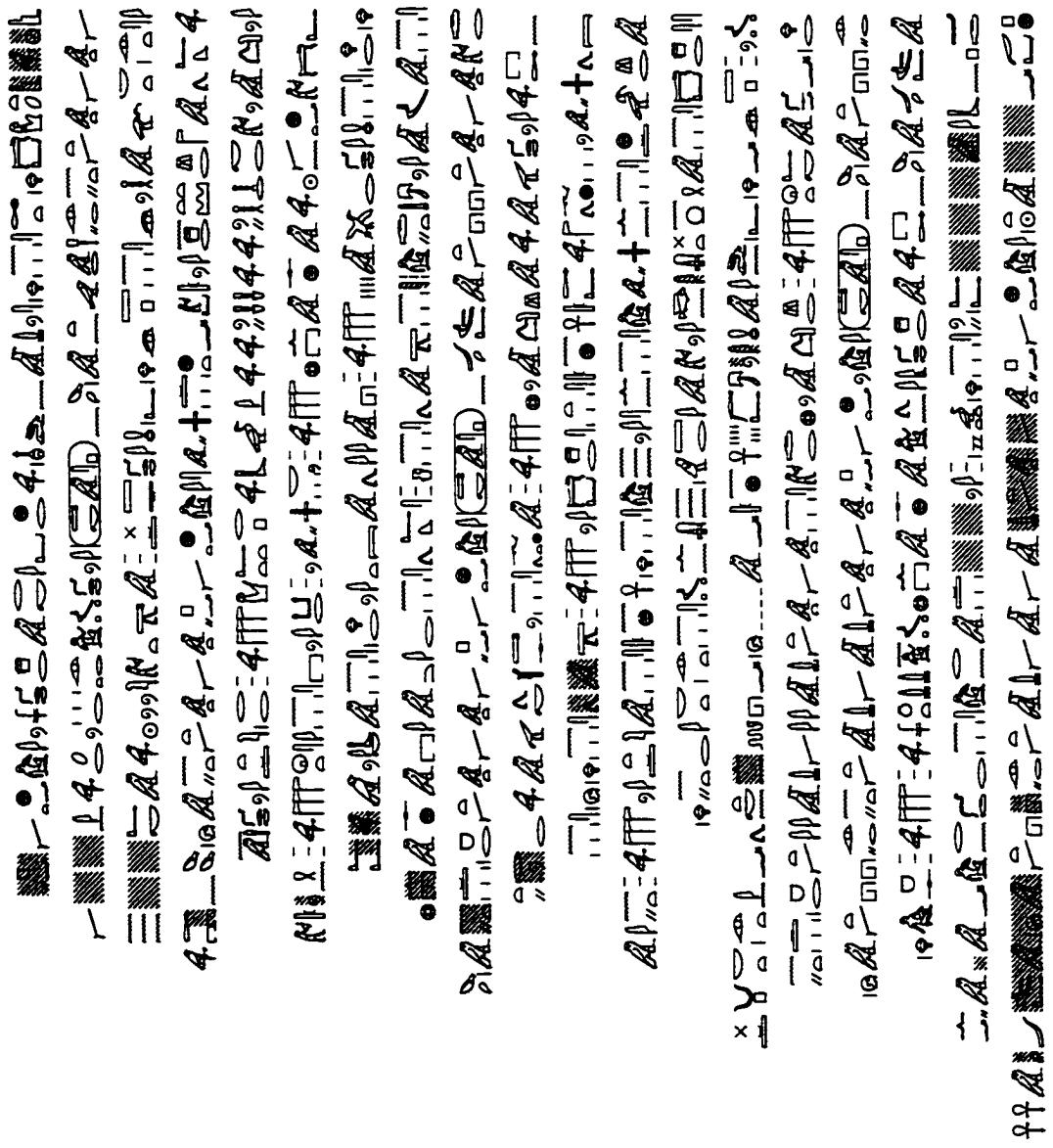
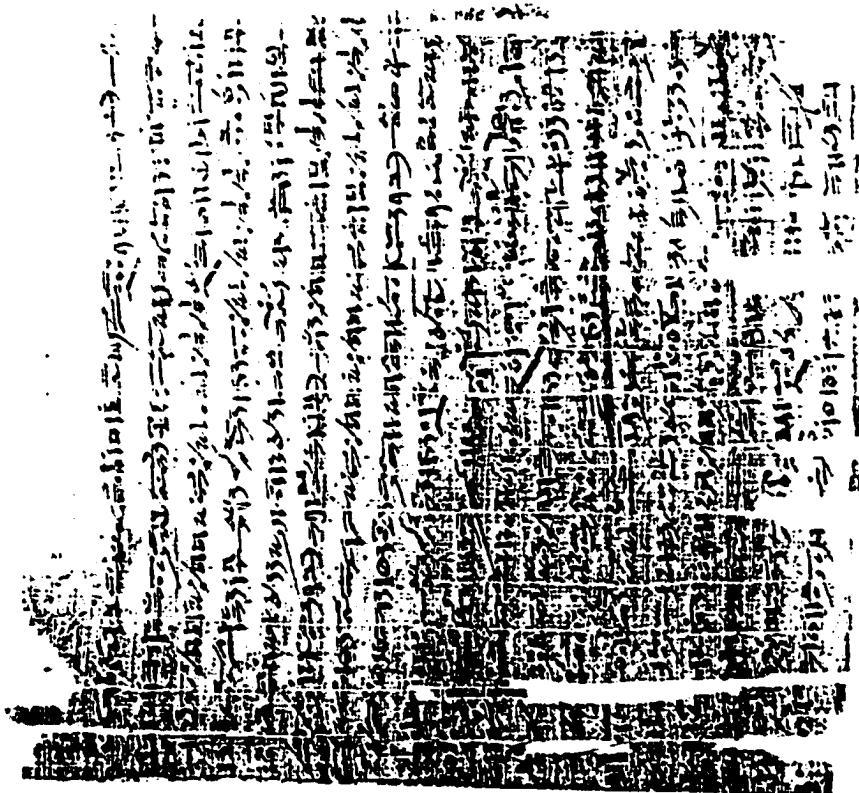


Plate 23. Hieroglyphic Transcription of Column XI (*pBrooklyn 47.218.49*)

13 1 3 4 2 5 6 7

Plate 24. Photograph of Column XII



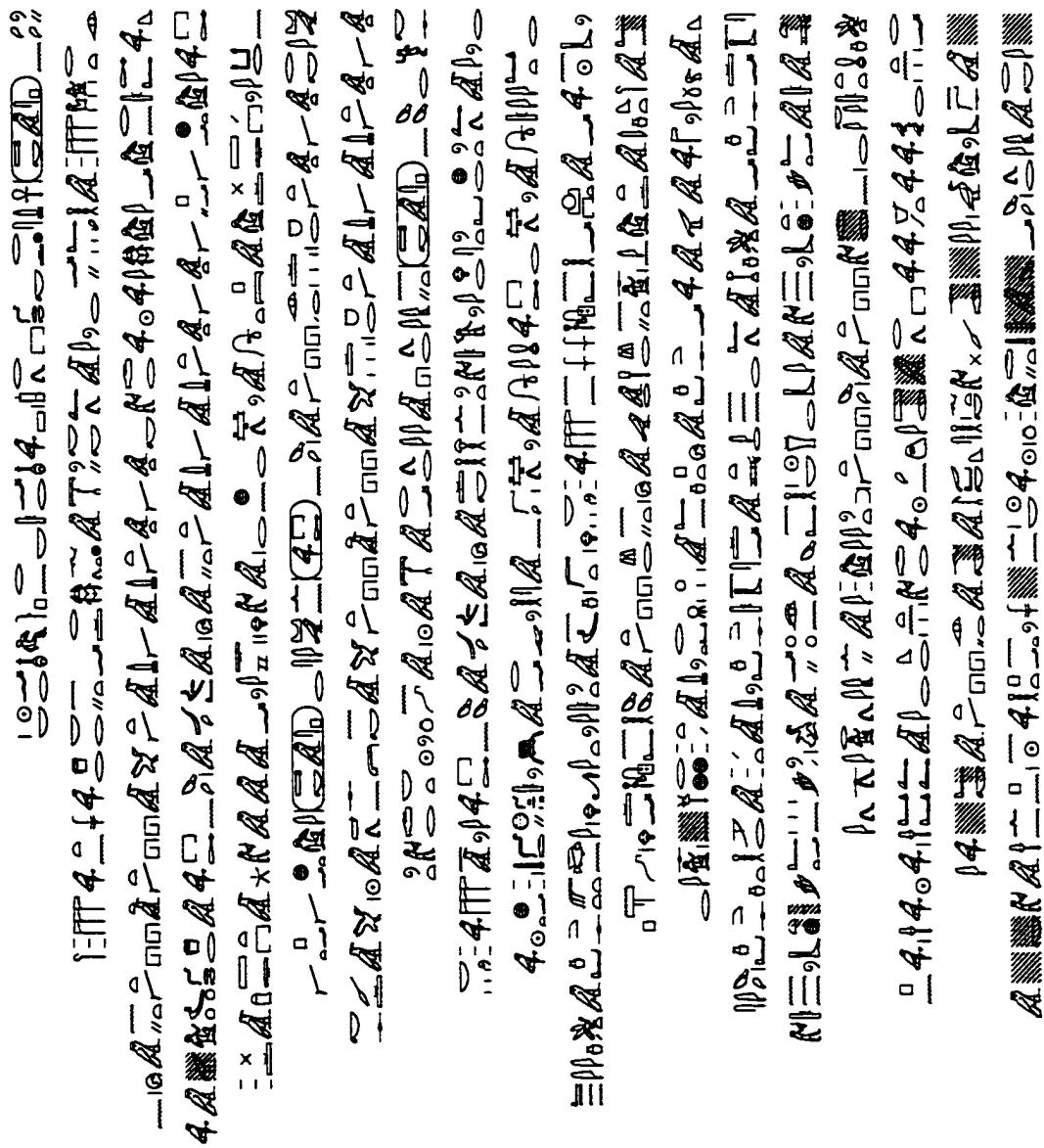
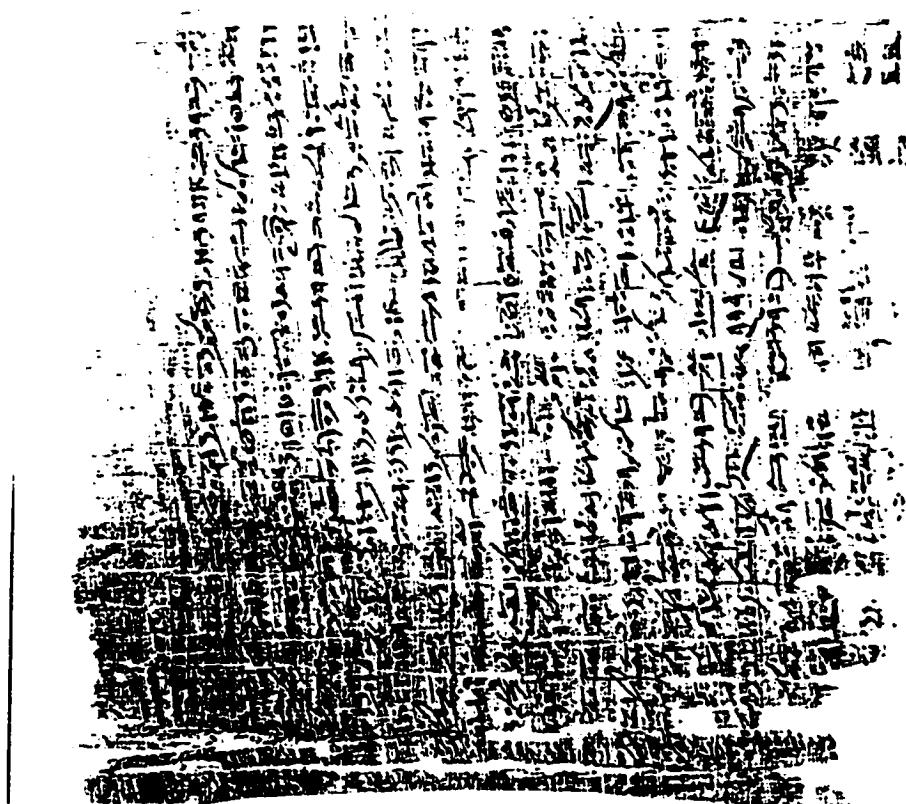


Plate 25. Hieroglyphic Transcription of Column XII (*pBrooklyn 47.218.49*)

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Plate 26. Photograph of Column XIII



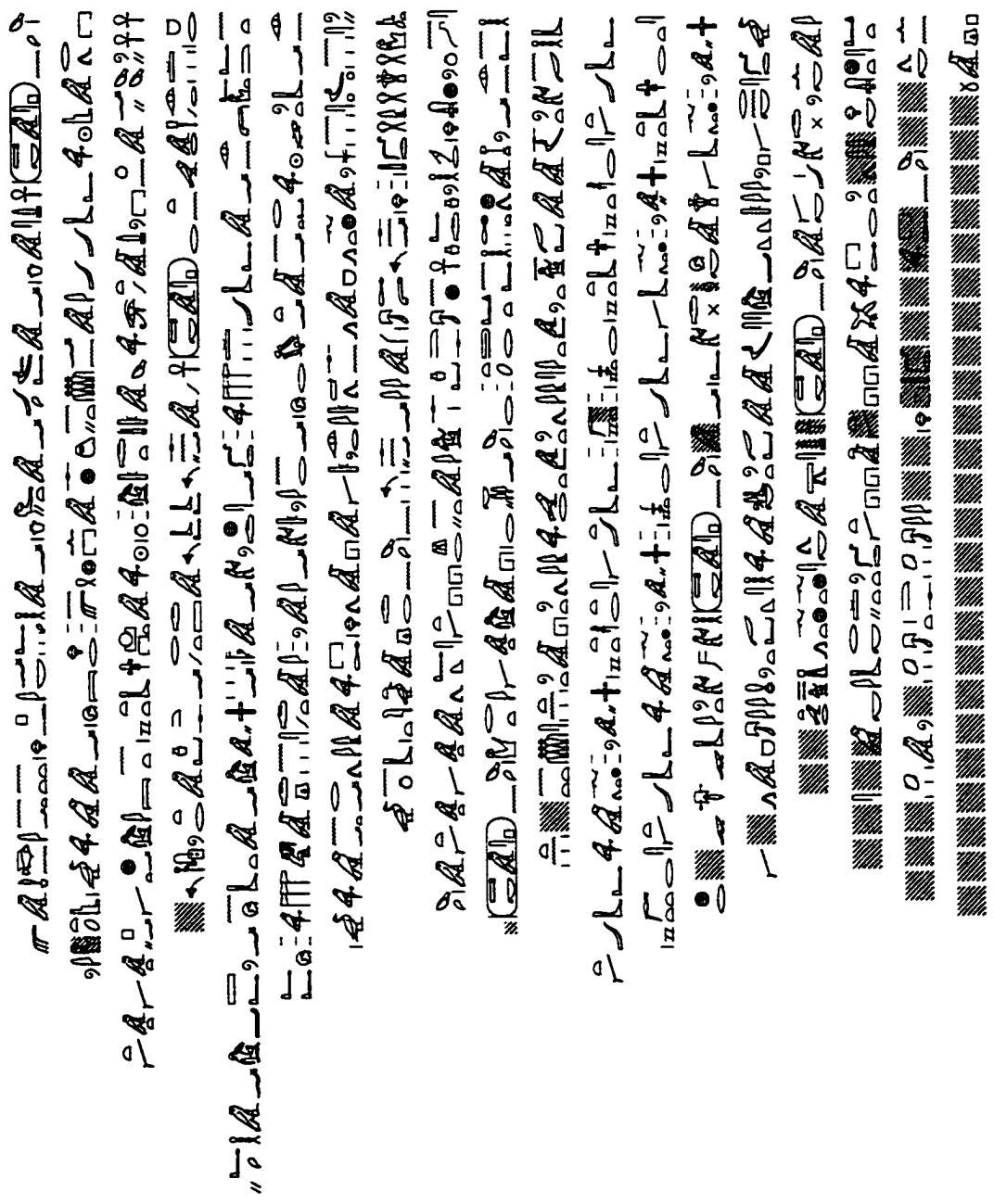


Plate 27. Hieroglyphic Transcription of Column XIII (*pBrooklyn 47.218.49*)

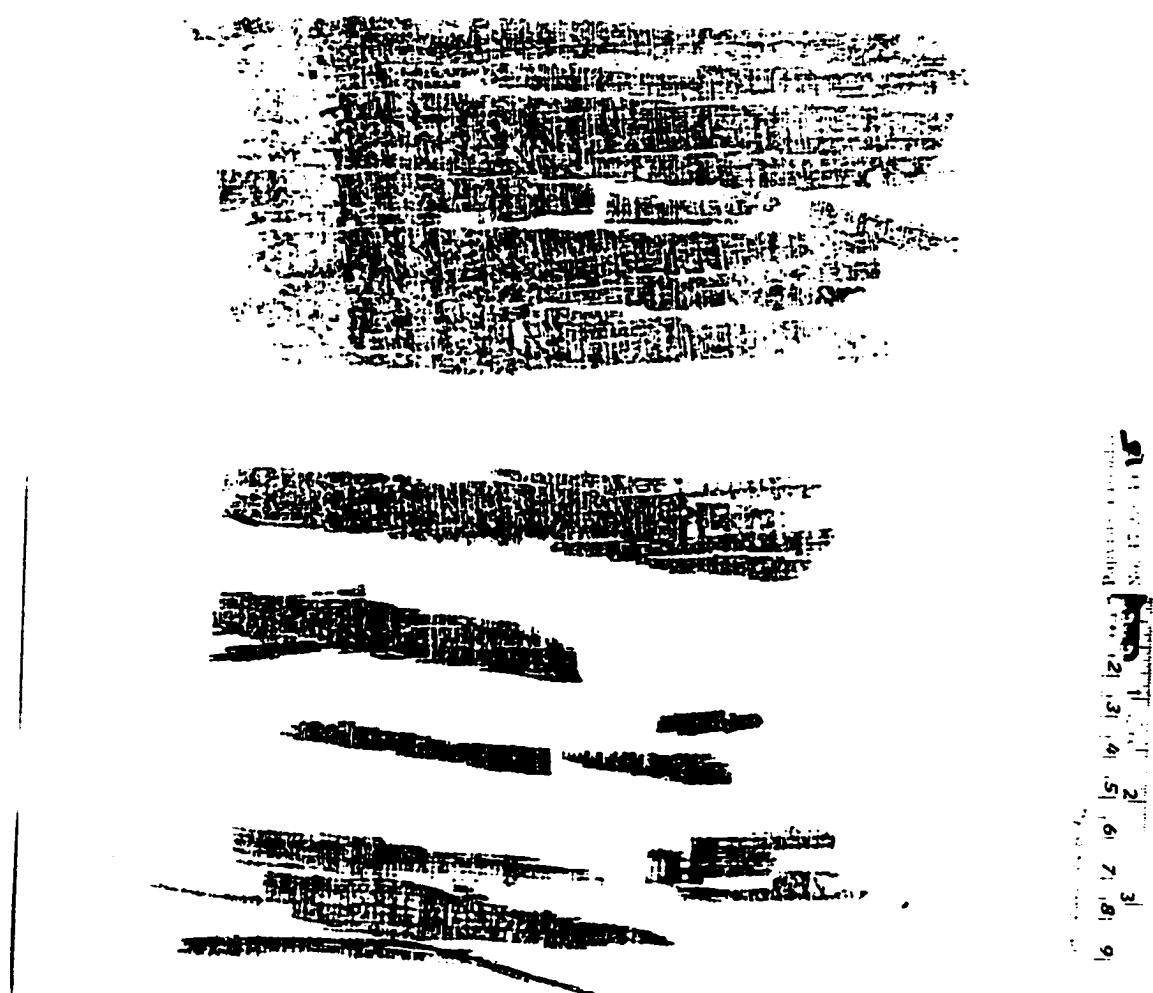
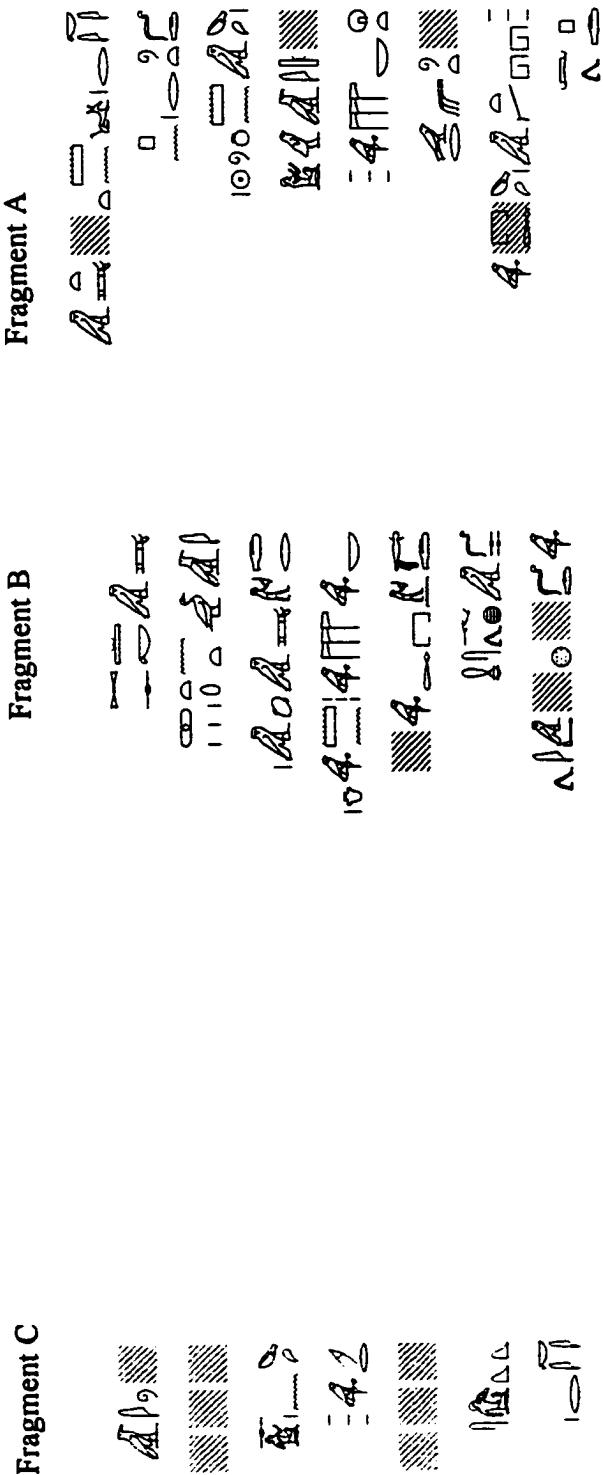


Plate 28. Photograph of Column XIV

Plate 29. Hieroglyphic Transcription of Column XIV (*pBrooklyn 47.218.49*)



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